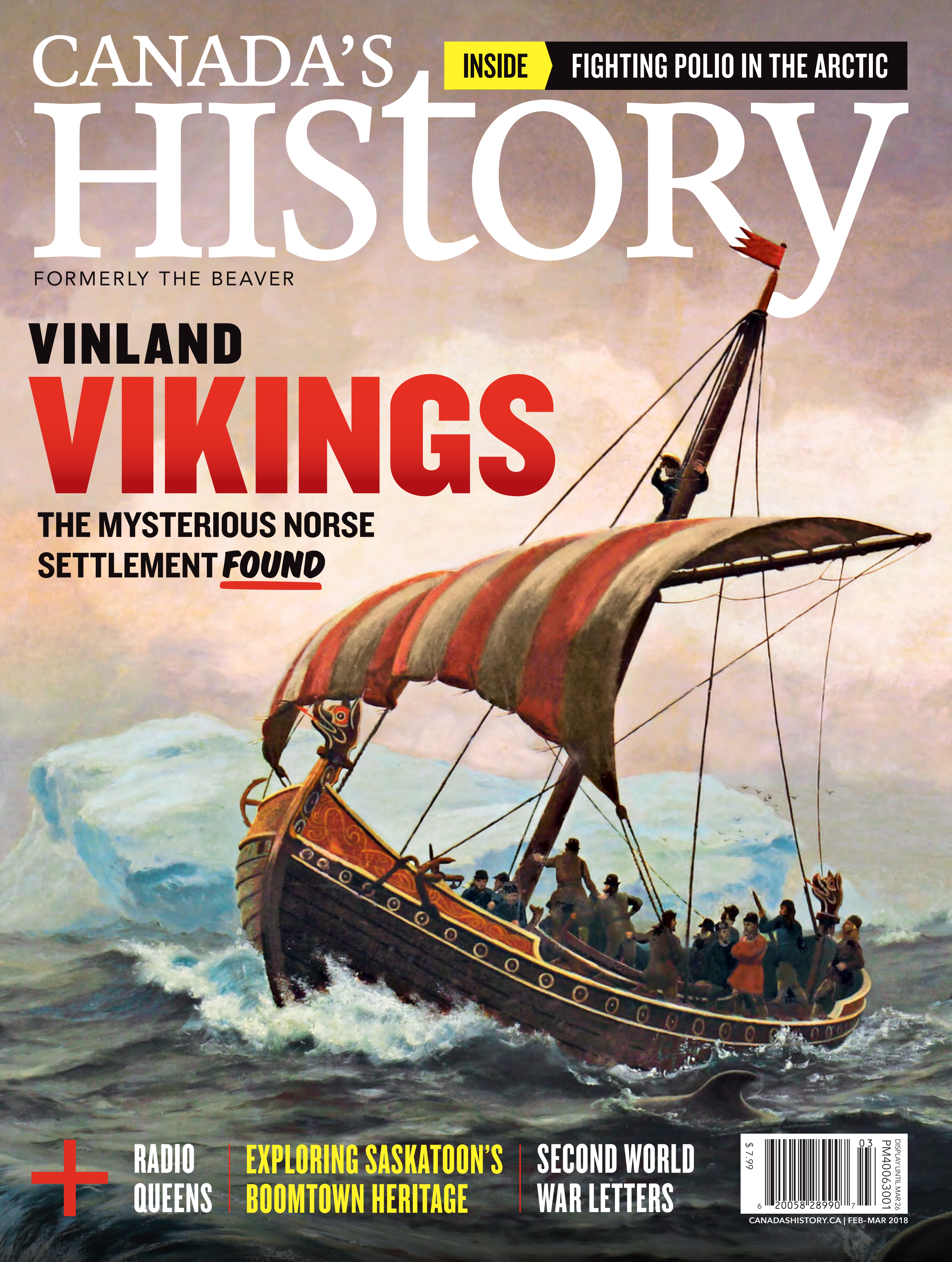

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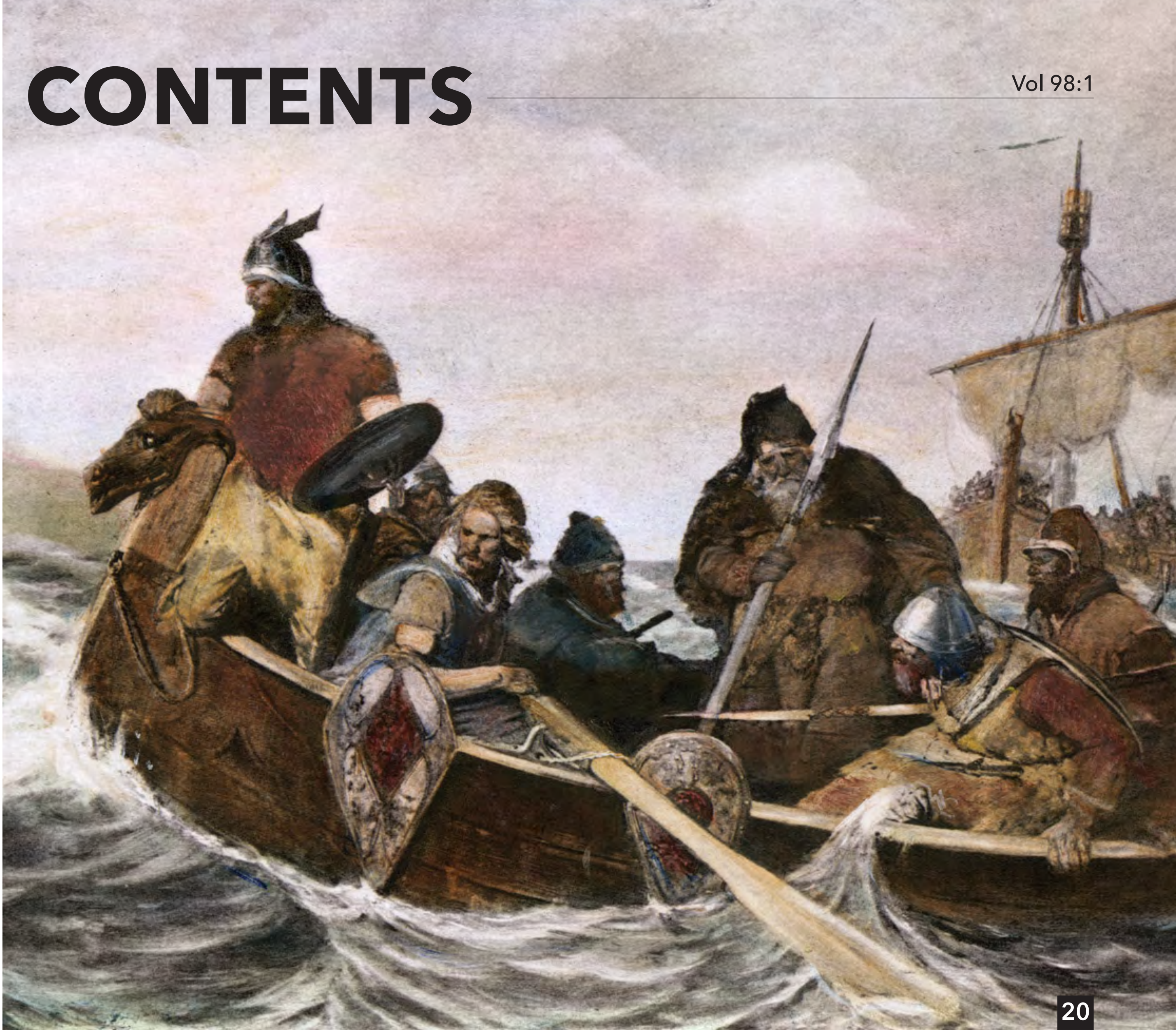

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CANADA'S
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THE MYSTERIOUS NORSE SETTLEMENT FOUND

On the cover

A detail of *Sommernat under den grønlandske Kyst Aar 1000* (Summer night at the coast of Greenland in the year 1000), 1875, by J.E.C. Rasmussen.

ALAMY

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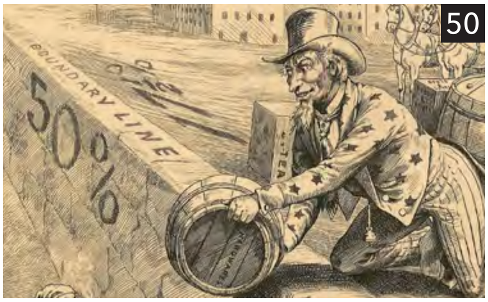

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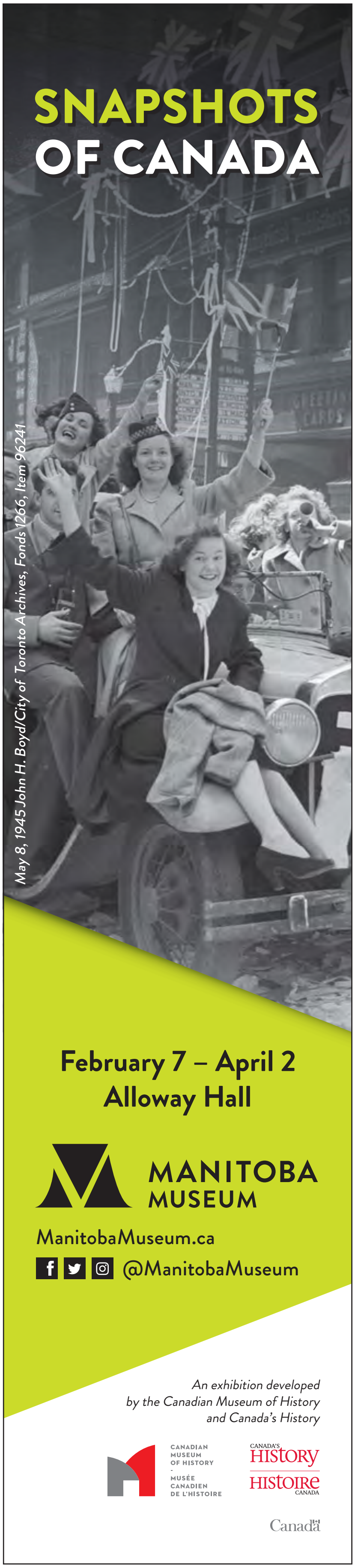
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'Cause us Vikings don't care what you think
Woah oh oh!
– Horrible Histories,
"Literally: The Viking Song"

While surfing the Internet recently, I stumbled upon a parody song about Vikings, produced by the team at Horrible Histories. If you don't know Horrible Histories, picture Monty Python, but aimed at a high school audience.

The YouTube video for "Literally: The Viking Song" features actors dressed as Norse berserkers — and singing like they were members of a hair metal band from the 1980s. Over a sappy, power-ballad melody, the Viking virtuosos wax poetic about raiding Britain for the first time:

We arrived upon your English shore
And you offered friendship
But we wanted more
Yeah, so much more!

The song is good for a chuckle, but the real Vikings were no laughing matter to the people who suffered their wrath during the height of their raiding activity.

From about 700 to 1100 these fearsome fighters from Scandinavia terrorized northern Europe and lands beyond. Records kept by monks attest to the ferocity and cruelty of their attacks.

The Vikings were also skilled seafarers, whose voyages took them increasingly farther west. In the eleventh century, the Norse arrived in North America. Two sagas, the saga of Erik the Red, and the saga of the Greenlanders, describe their attempt to settle in Atlantic Canada.

One of the areas they visited, Vinland, was described as warm and bountiful, with plenty of timber, ample grasses that "barely withered," and grapes that grew wild along the shoreline.

Historians have long sought to identify the location of Vinland, with possible sites suggested all along the eastern seaboard. In this issue, historian Birgitta Wallace, in her article, "Finding Vinland," weighs the evidence, and offers her verdict on its location.

Elsewhere, we recall a tragic polio outbreak in the Far North that occurred in the 1940s; we remember the women broadcasters from the early days of radio; and we explore the Second World War through the war letters of a pair of brothers who served in the Canadian army.

Mark Reid

CONTRIBUTORS

Jeff Keshen wrote "War Correspondence." He is the vice-president, Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland. A historian of twentieth-century Canadian military history, his publications include (with Andrew Iarocci) *A Nation in Conflict: Canada and the Two World Wars.*

Garry Moir co-wrote "Radio Queens." His broadcasting career spans more than forty-five years and includes work at CBC radio as well as private radio and television stations. He served as a correspondent for *Maclean's*, as a contributor to *Time*, and as a broadcasting instructor at Red River College. Garry wrote *On the Air: The Golden Age of Radio in Manitoba*. Currently, Garry produces a daily history feature for radio statio CJNU in Winnipeg.

Nelle Oosterom co-wrote "Radio Queens." She recently retired after ten years as the senior editor of *Canada's History* magazine. Before joining the magazine, her forty-year journalism career included a stint with CBC Radio. She also worked for The Canadian Press and the Canwest News Service. Her work has appeared in many newspapers and magazines, and she has contributed to several books.

Christopher J. Rutty, author of "Mercy Mission," is a Toronto-based professional medical historian with expertise in the history of public health, vaccines, and biotechnology in Canada. His Ph.D. dissertation focused on the history of polio in Canada. His Health Heritage Research Services provides research, writing, and creative services to a variety of clients. He is an adjunct lecturer at the University of Toronto's Dalla Lana School of Public Health.

Birgitta Wallace wrote "Finding Vinland." Now retired, she was a senior archaeologist with Parks Canada, where the archaeological work at L'Anse aux Meadows was among her responsibilities. She is the author of *Westward Vikings:The Saga of L'Anse aux Meadows* and numerous articles on the site as well as on Vikings in North America. She has served as curator on several major Viking exhibits. Her fieldwork has included excavations in Canada, Sweden, Norway, Israel, and the United States.

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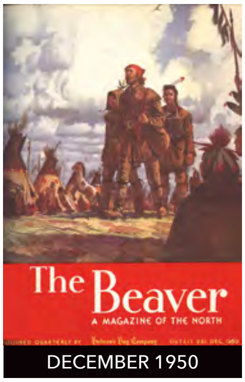
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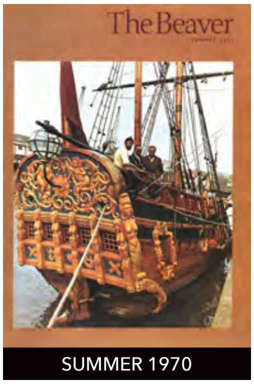

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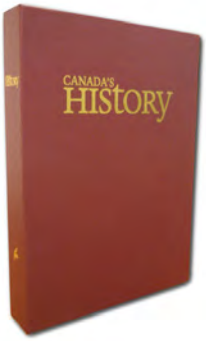
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I have been a happy subscriber to *Canada's History* for a couple of years now, and I enjoy every issue a lot. When your December 2017-January 2018 issue on trains arrived, with its strikingly eye-catching cover photograph, I knew I was in for something special. I wasn't disappointed — the article was excellent. I also enjoyed your lead editorial on the place that Canada's railroads held in the towns across this country. I once lived in Vernon, British Columbia, and on visiting there recently I found that the train station had acquired a new life as a civic building for several purposes. The large Canadian Pacific Railway and Canadian National Railway station buildings here in Vancouver are both thriving and are much-loved landmarks. Once again, thank you for an excellent issue of *Canada's History*!

Paul B. Ohannesian
Editor, The Whistle

Required reading

Doug Cuthand's "Harsh Measures" (October-November 2017), although well written, does not make for comfortable reading. Further details of this execution at Fort Battleford, Saskatchewan, in 1885 may produce further discomfort. As part of Canada's reconciliation, the truth of such terrible moments in the relationship between Indigenous and settler society must be admitted and taught to the adults and children of our country. I congratulate your magazine for furthering reconciliation by its coverage of such terrible moments.

Richard Grover
Winnipeg

Explosive information

In the December 2017-January 2018 issue, an excerpt from the book *The Halifax Explosion: Canada's Worst Disaster* states: "The blast that obliterated the *Mont-Blanc* ... and devastated the city of Halifax was the most powerful 'man-made' explosion in history, a distinction it held until the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan in 1945." In fact, Halifax only held that distinction until July 16, 1945, not August 6, 1945 (the date the first atomic bomb was used on Japan). The Trinity test of a Fat Man-style plutonium bomb, by the Los Alamos scientists at Alamogordo, New Mexico, yielded a twenty-thousand kiloton blast.

E. Paget, via email

Editor's note: E. Paget is correct — the Halifax Explosion yielded a blast strength of approximately three thousand kilotons.

Beaming about The Beaver

I am most excited to see *The Beaver* being made available online! We sure are living in great times, when content is being shared around the world. Thank you!

Carsten Iwers
Gruenwald, Germany

Editor's note: Canada's History Archive featuring The Beaver *is now online. Go to CanadasHistory.ca/Archive to explore back issues of* The Beaver, *as well as issues of* Canada's History *magazine and* Kayak: Canada's History for Kids. *The archive is free to use and waiting to be explored!*

During the fur trade era, outposts regularly received "packets" of correspondence. Email your comments to editors@CanadasHistory.ca or write to Canada's History, Bryce Hall Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9 Canada.

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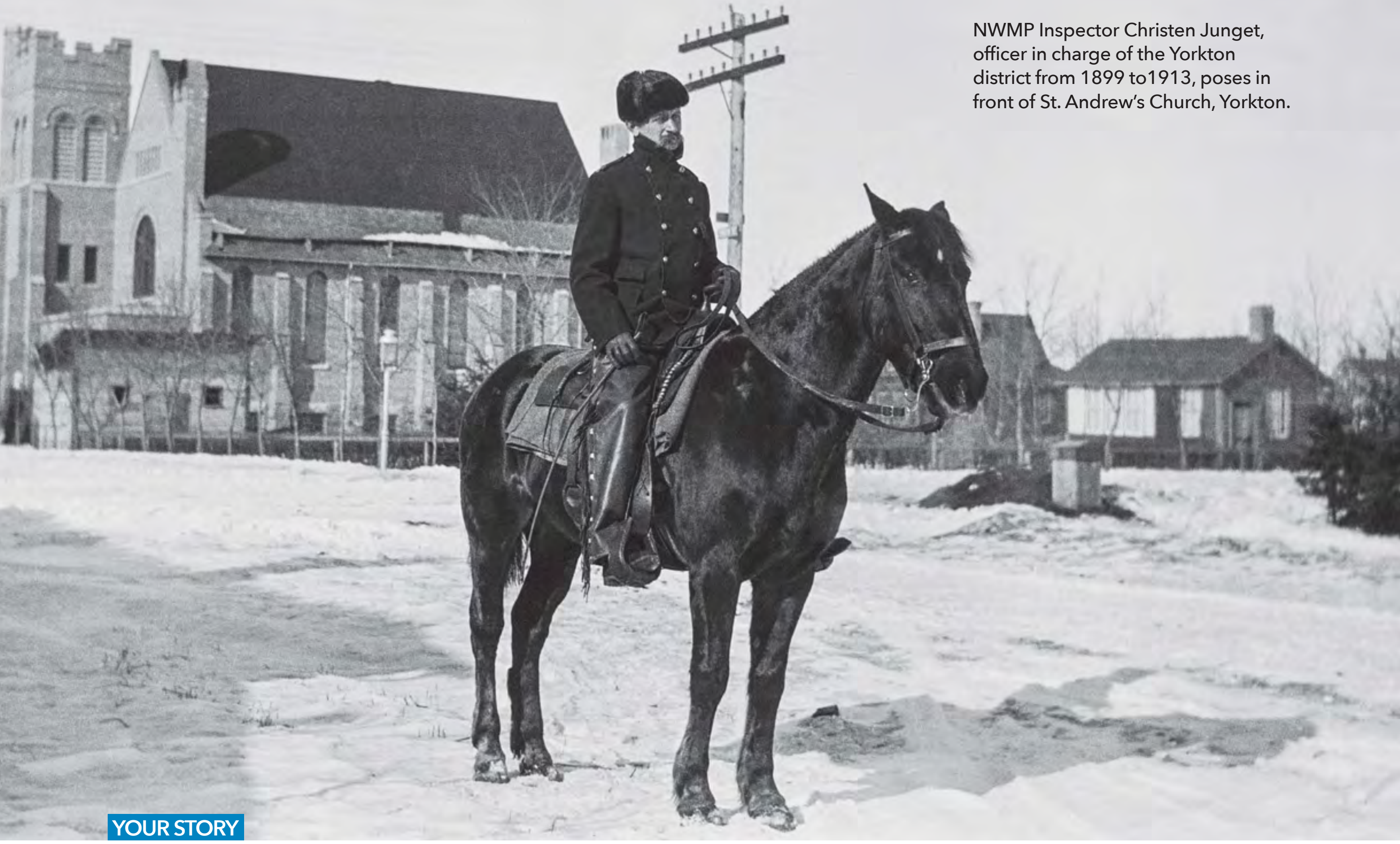


NWMP Inspector Christen Junget, officer in charge of the Yorkton district from 1899 to1913, poses in front of St. Andrew's Church, Yorkton.

YOUR STORY

Reframing the past

A trove of family photos offers a window on the experience of prairie settlers. *by Keith McLaren*

Chloe Ann Burkell passed away long before I had a chance to form any first-hand impressions of her. All I knew of her came from photos and stories told by my mother.

Chloe, my grandmother, became forever fixed in my memory as she appeared in her later years — a snowy-haired, beatific matriarch with soft features and kind eyes. It never occurred to me to dig behind the surface and find out more about her life.

Her role as mother and grandmother seemed to be what mattered most. From my mother, I knew that Chloe had been a strong-willed and resourceful woman, generous with her time in helping others. But it was my grandfather, with his larger-than-life personality and near-legendary career with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who was the dominant presence in our family.

It was not until I found a photograph album of Chloe's, when clearing up my mother's estate, that I began to see my grandmother in a different light. Through these images I began to truly realize the depth of her character and to appreciate the record she made of her young life in Yorkton, before and after it became Saskatchewan.

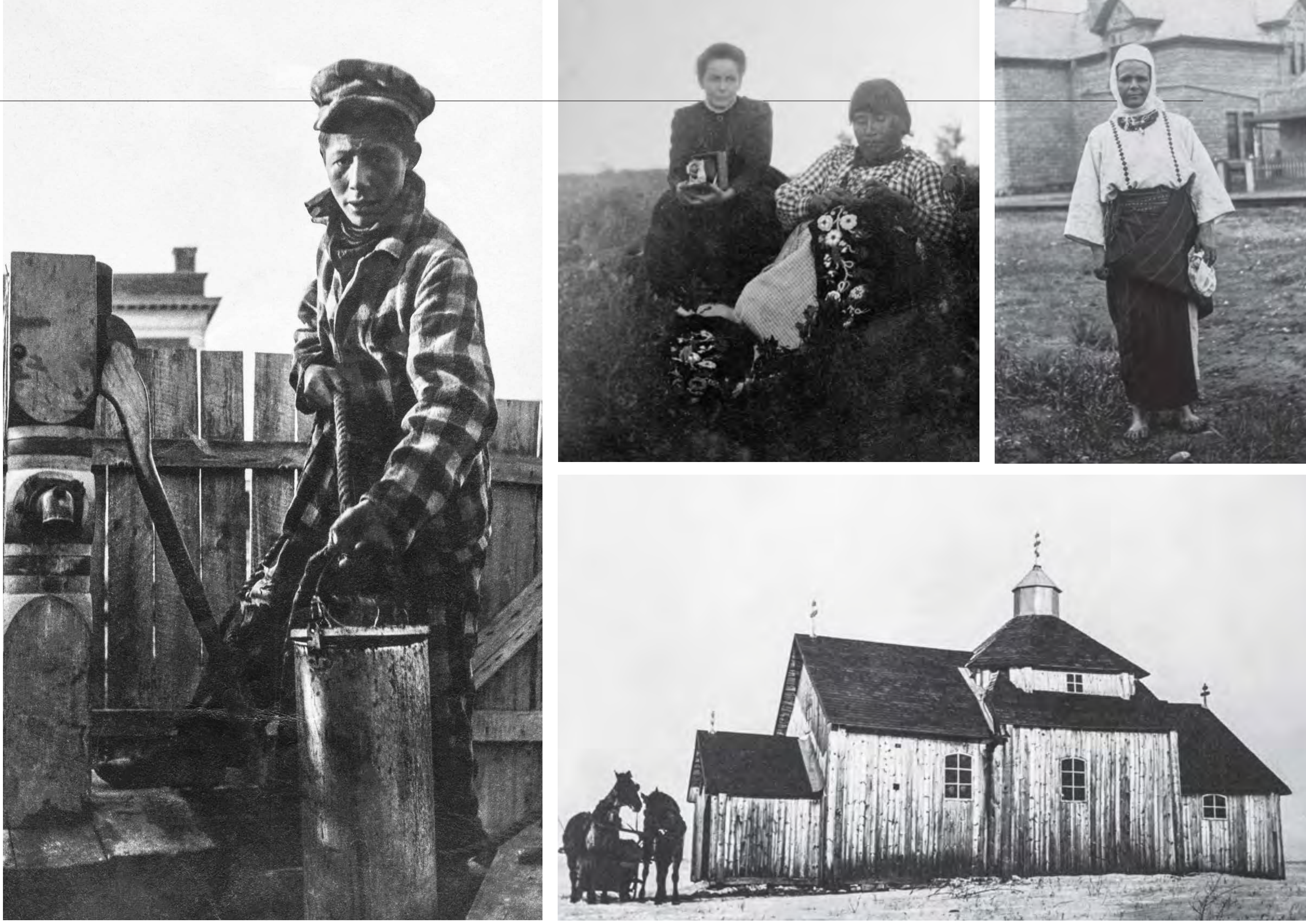
The album held images of her work as an amateur photographer from 1900 to 1913. It contains several hundred photos, and, at first glance, it appears to be a typical record of the period, containing faded black-and-white images of family members and friends.

However, her work also has a more exploratory range of subject matter, and it becomes clear that she was an astute observer of her environment and of daily life.

With a dedication unusual for an amateur photographer in the early 1900s, she photographed every building and street scene in the community, homesteads and working farms, and, most often, the people who inhabited the town and the surrounding area: First Nations and Métis families, barefoot immigrant women in traditional dress, homesteaders and their log-and-sod homes, as well as community celebrations, crowds attending a local fair, pony races, and North West Mounted Police (NWMP) officers escorting crowds of Doukhobor men through town.

Chloe was a newcomer to the prairies, arriving with her family from Ontario in 1900 to homestead just northeast of Yorkton. Born in 1880, she would have been on the cusp of

PHOTOS COURTESY OF KEITH MCLAREN



Clockwise from left: Sam Baptiste Francis, a local Saulteaux youth, drawing water from a wooden pump. Chloe Ann Burkell, holding a camera, poses with a First Nations woman doing beadwork. The photo was taken near Yorkton at the Solomon Brass family encampment. A barefoot Doukhobor woman wears a traditional dress while posing at a farming commune northeast of Yorkton. A wooden Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Yorkton region.

adulthood when she arrived in this small, bustling community.

Almost certainly she, along with her family, would have experienced culture shock, coming as they did from a well-established and prosperous farming community. In the period between 1896 and 1911, the Canadian government encouraged tens of thousands of non-English-speaking settlers from eastern Europe — including Ukraine and Russia — to populate and farm the prairies.

Meeting these settlers, as well as meeting members of Métis and First Nations communities, and immigrants from the United States, would have made for a curious experience for a young woman fresh from Central Canada.

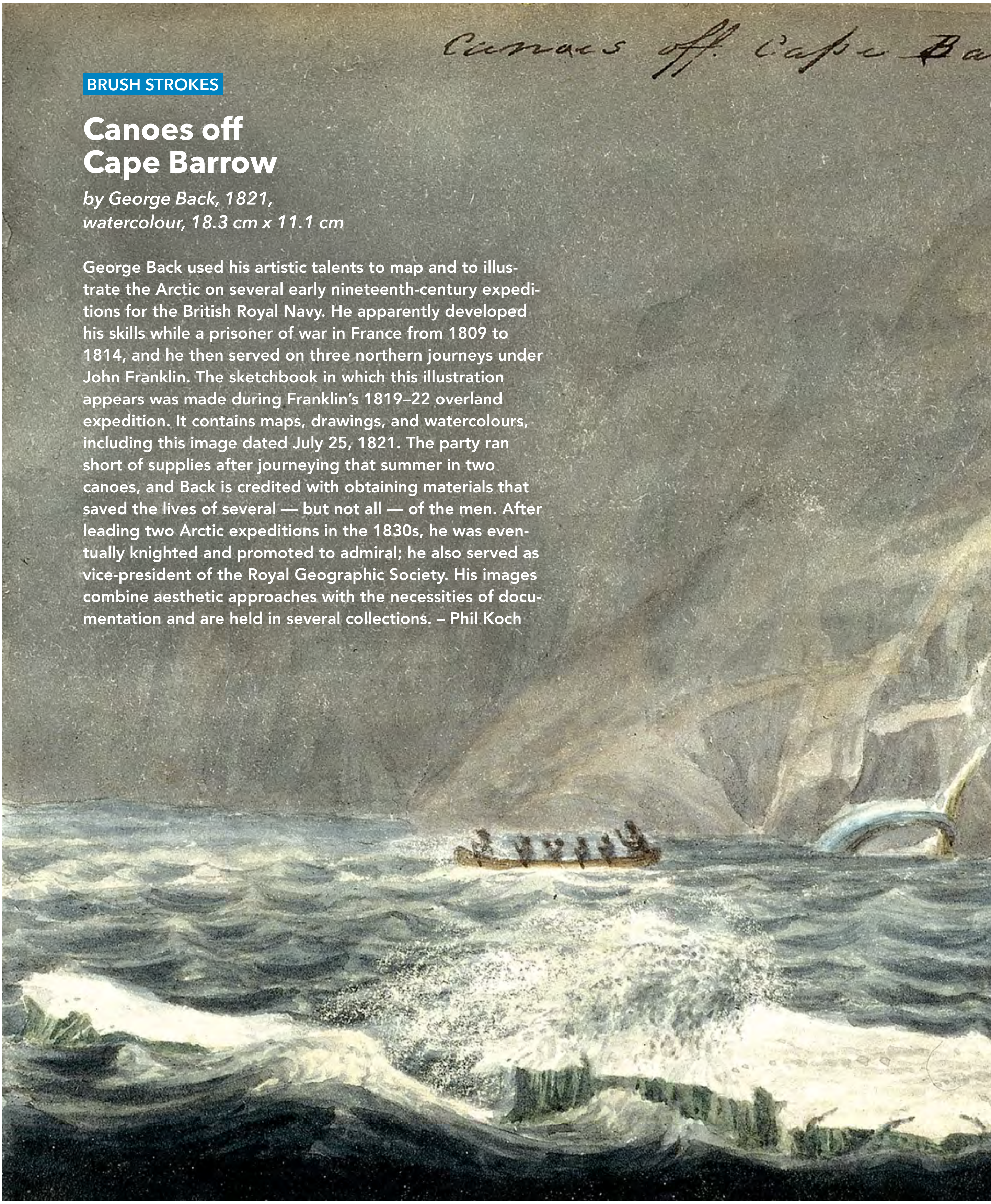
She met my grandfather Christen Junget soon after arriving in Yorkton, and they married in 1903. A young Danish army officer, Christen moved to Canada in 1899 specifically to join the NWMP. Like Chloe, he would have experienced a huge cultural change, coming from his native Denmark to the Canadian West. His linguistic skills in French, German, and Danish were considered assets in dealings with new immigrants, particularly those from eastern Europe.

So, almost immediately after training in Regina, he was posted to the Yorkton district.

NWMP officers at this time were expected to maintain contact with new settlers and homesteaders to ensure they were coping with the rigours of frontier life. It would not have been uncommon for a wife to accompany her husband on his rounds during this period. This would account for some of the more remote farming and homesteading locations in Chloe's images.

It's evident to me that Chloe relished the experience of taking photos. I can't say with any certainty that she was aware that she was documenting a part of Canadian history, or whether she simply took photos of subjects that interested her. Whatever her motivation, she left us with a surprisingly detailed pictorial record of life in and around a small prairie town in the first decade of the twentieth century. Besides being a revelation of who my grandmother was at a formative time in her life, this album has given me the opportunity to see through her eyes life on the Prairies as it unfolded more than a century ago.

Keith McLaren is a retired BC Ferries captain and author who lives in North Saanich, near Victoria.

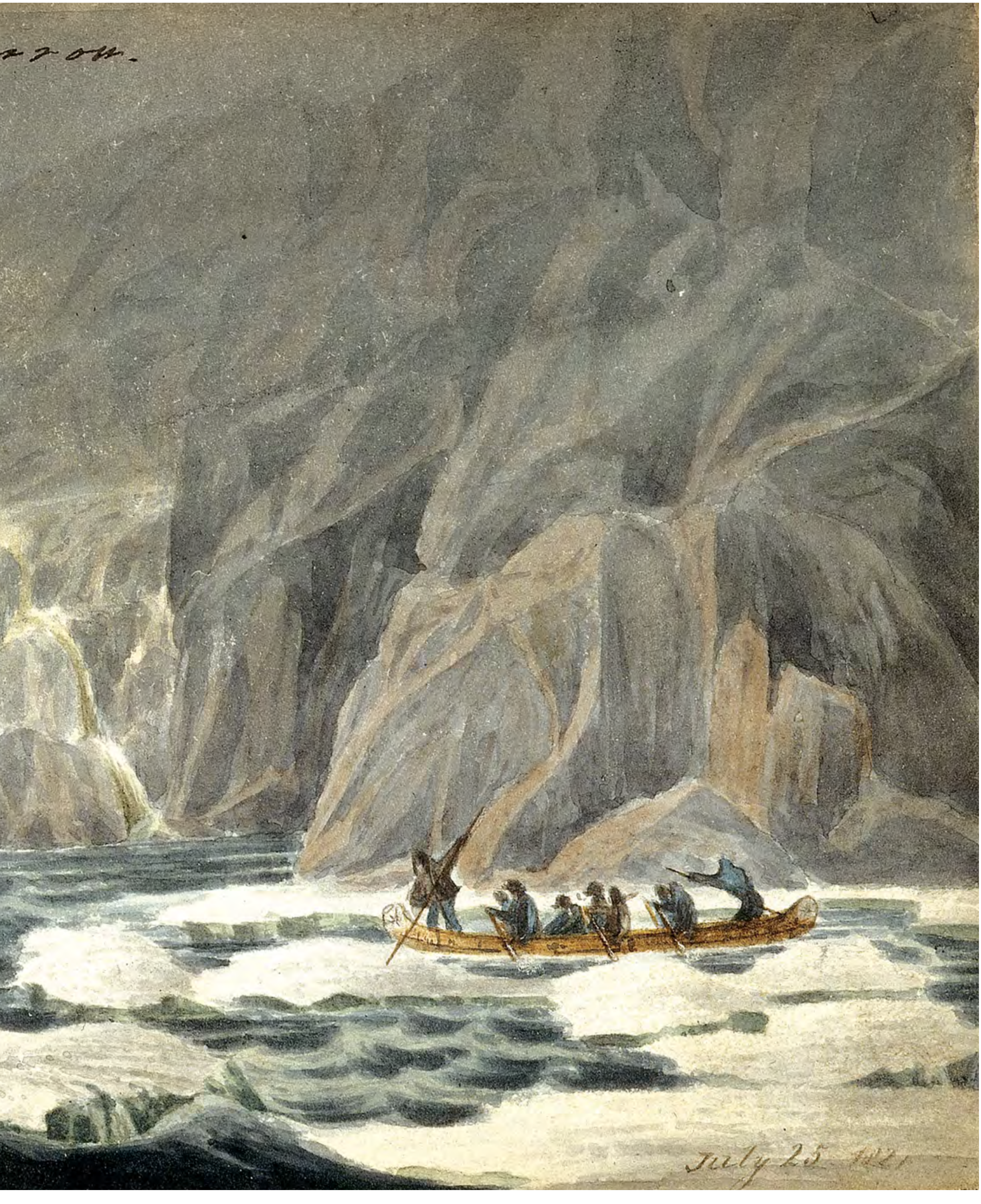


BRUSH STROKES

Canoes off Cape Barrow

by George Back, 1821, watercolour, 18.3 cm x 11.1 cm

George Back used his artistic talents to map and to illustrate the Arctic on several early nineteenth-century expeditions for the British Royal Navy. He apparently developed his skills while a prisoner of war in France from 1809 to 1814, and he then served on three northern journeys under John Franklin. The sketchbook in which this illustration appears was made during Franklin's 1819–22 overland expedition. It contains maps, drawings, and watercolours, including this image dated July 25, 1821. The party ran short of supplies after journeying that summer in two canoes, and Back is credited with obtaining materials that saved the lives of several — but not all — of the men. After leading two Arctic expeditions in the 1830s, he was eventually knighted and promoted to admiral; he also served as vice-president of the Royal Geographic Society. His images combine aesthetic approaches with the necessities of documentation and are held in several collections. – Phil Koch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NEWS

A witness to war – and peace

New museum will explore the Asian experience during the Second World War. *by Marianne Helm*

A new Canadian museum will highlight the history of war and war crimes in Asia during the Second World War in an effort to prevent similar atrocities from occuring in the future.

The Asia-Pacific Peace Museum and Education Centre, which will open in 2019 in Toronto, will be a "lightning rod" to explore "the lessons we must learn from the horrors of the war," said Dr. Joseph Yu-Kai Wong, the founder of the Association for Learning and Preserving the History of WWII in Asia (ALPHA).

Wong said he was inspired to build the museum after witnessing new generations of Canadians show a greater interest in learning about the history of the war and its impacts both in Canada and around the globe.

"The main reason why we started to drive our dream to reality was because we saw the passion and enthusiasm of young people" for this history, Wong said. "They give us hope that this history will forever serve as a lesson for all to remember the horrors and [will show] how each of us can help to prevent repeating history."

Wong said Canada is the perfect location for the museum because of the country's diversity, which includes a large and growing population of people of Asian descent; its Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which protects and promotes the rights of immigrants and encourages multiculturalism; and a justice system that fights for the rights of minorities.

While other museums explore the Second World War, Wong said the Asia-Pacific Peace Museum will provide greatly needed context on the Asian experience during that conflict. The museum will examine the causes of the war, the expansion of the conflict, the aftermath, and its

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

Clockwise from left: A Japanese-Canadian family awaits relocation to an internment camp in the interior of British Columbia, circa 1942. A conceptual design for the Asia-Pacific Peace Museum and Education Centre. Toronto Mayor John Tory, front row, second from right, and museum supporters at the official launch of the project, September 2017.

ABOVE: ASIA-PACIFIC PEACE MUSEUM AND EDUCATION CENTRE. RIGHT: ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

continuing impacts and legacy today. The galleries will explore topics such as the Nanking Massacre; the "comfort women" who were forced to act as sexual slaves for Japanese soldiers; the use of biochemical and germ weapons; the mistreatment of prisoners of war; the Battle of Hong Kong; the use of atomic bombs to end the war; and, on the home front, the internment of Japanese Canadians during the war.

Wong hopes the museum will be a "hub for active teaching and research for high school and university students and academics, to promote understanding of the causes of war and the ways to bring about reconciliation and peace."

The museum will include interactive digital exhibits and will feature classrooms and a research space. Wong's goal is to see the museum eventually host more than ten thousand students annually, in addition to public visitors. Private fundraising for the museum continues; Wong is also seeking federal and provincial funding.

NEWS

The Norse, Decoded

Were the Vikings really bloodthirsty berserkers? Or were they merely misunderstood?

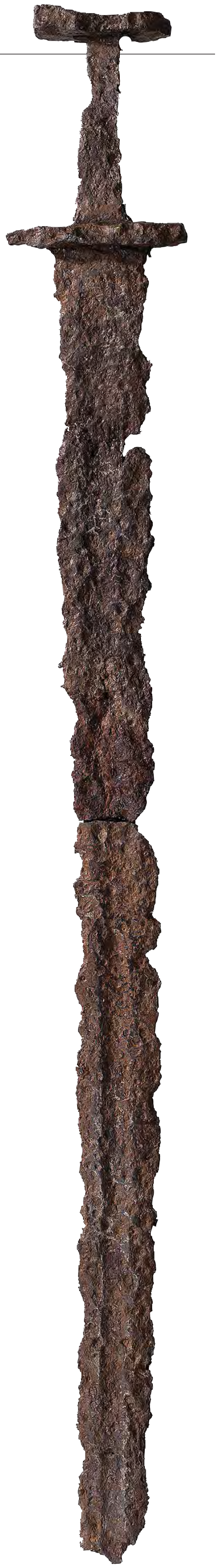
A new exhibition in Ontario is exploring the complicated and captivating legacy of these fierce Scandinavian fighters.

Vikings: The Exhibition launched in November at the Royal Ontario Museum and runs until April 2018.

The exhibition "provides visitors with a holistic perspective on who the Norse were, how they changed through time, and how they constantly pushed the boundaries of their world through innovation and exploration," said Dr. Craig Cipolla, ROM associate curator of North American archaeology. "The archaeological materials and interactive displays in the exhibition allow visitors to experience Viking culture and history in revealing and surprising ways."

The exhibition consists of more than five hundred artifacts. They come from the Swedish History Museum as well as from Canadian sources, including Parks Canada, The Rooms museum in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Canadian Museum of History in Ottawa.

Highlights include two reconstructed Viking boats, the *Arby*, and the *Eik Sande*. Both vessels have been faithfully recreated using Viking processes and materials. Also on display is an authentic Norse weapon that was the centre of a twentieth-century hoax: the "Beardmore Sword," which was planted in Northern Ontario in the 1930s in an attempt to fool archaeologists studying the Viking presence in North America.



This Norse long sword is part of the ROM's Viking exhibit.

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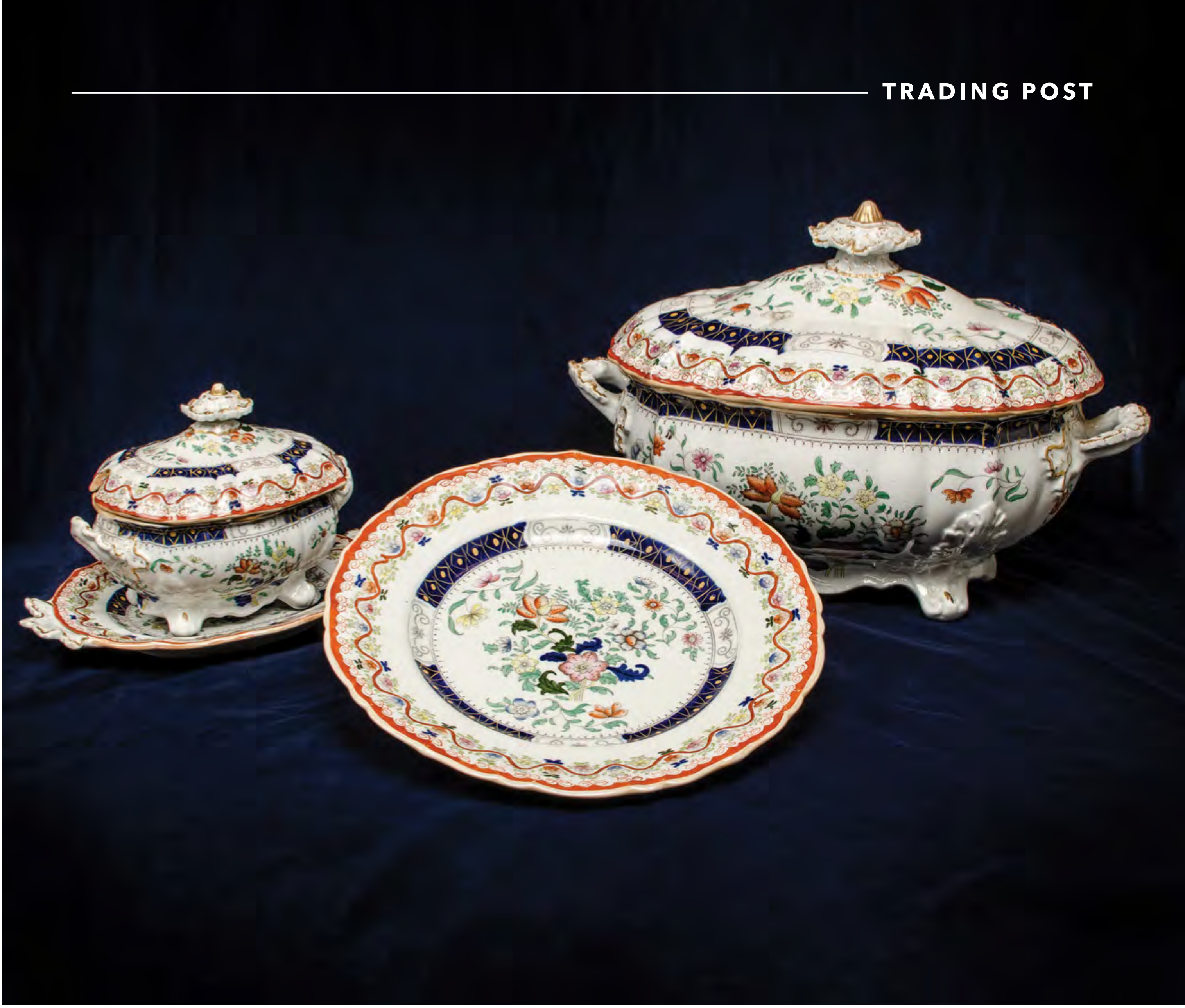


Dinnerware set

Tales and Treasures from the rich legacy of the Hudson's Bay Company

ARTIFACT FROM THE MANITOBA MUSEUM (HBC 014-26) / PHOTO BY ANDREW WORKMAN

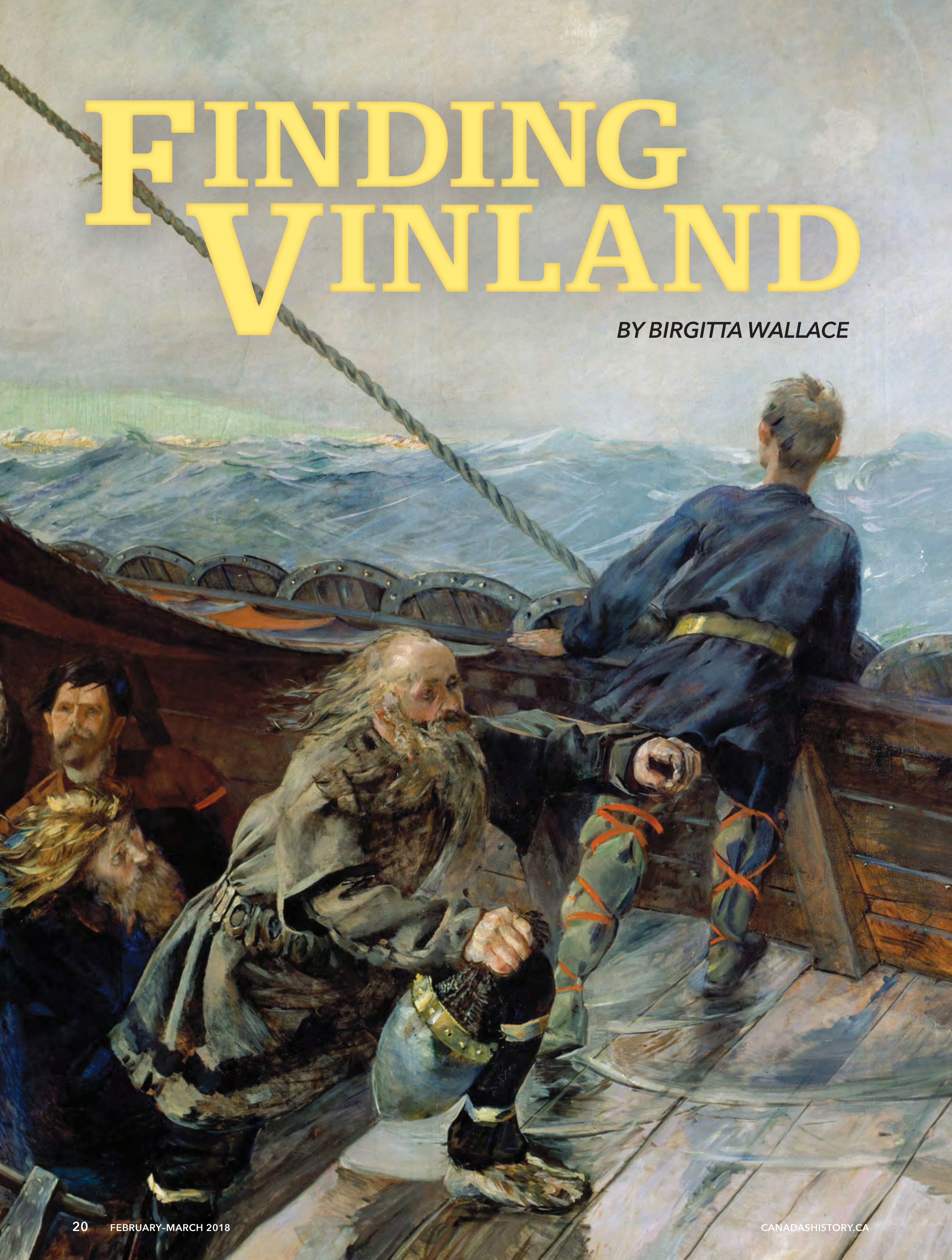
Fancy dinnerware is probably not the first thing to come to mind in regard to the fur trade, but this set was proudly used in the 1830s at Norway House (on the Nelson River, north of Lake Winnipeg) by chief factor Donald Ross and his wife, Mary McBeath. She had come with her parents in 1815 to the Red River Settlement established by Lord Selkirk. After some items were lost or broken, the set now consists of sixty-four pieces, including plates of varying sizes, bowls, serving dishes, gravy boats, and a large tureen. Made in Staffordshire from Mason's Ironstone — a durable and much cheaper alternative to porcelain — this set was hand-painted and then sold by retailer Thomas & Higginbotham in Dublin, Ireland. The dishes would have been shipped via a Hudson's Bay Company supply ship to York Factory, and then down to Norway House by York boat! The set was passed along to Donald and Mary's daughter Christina when she married HBC employee Bernard Rogan Ross; after that, their daughter Minnie passed it along to a good friend; and it remained in the family until it was donated to the collection in 2014.
— Amelia Fay, curator of the HBC Collection at the Manitoba Museum

HUDSON'S BAY

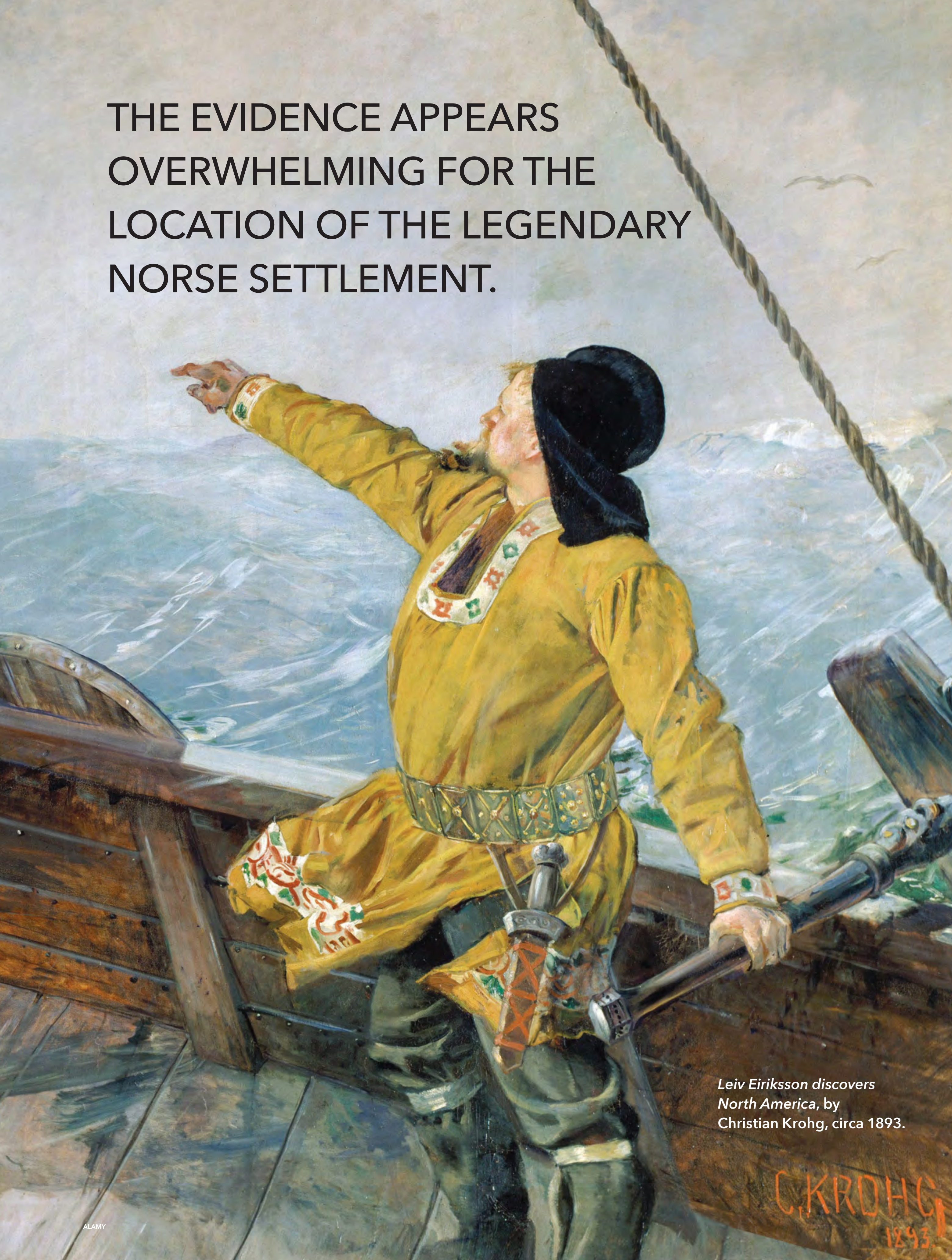
The Beaver magazine was originally founded as a Hudson's Bay Company publication in 1920. To read stories from past issues, go to **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive**. To explore the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, go to **hbcheritage.ca**, or follow HBC's Twitter and Instagram feeds at **@HBCHeritage.**

FINDING VINLAND

BY BIRGITTA WALLACE



THE EVIDENCE APPEARS OVERWHELMING FOR THE LOCATION OF THE LEGENDARY NORSE SETTLEMENT.



Leiv Eiriksson discovers North America, by Christian Krohg, circa 1893.

ALAMY

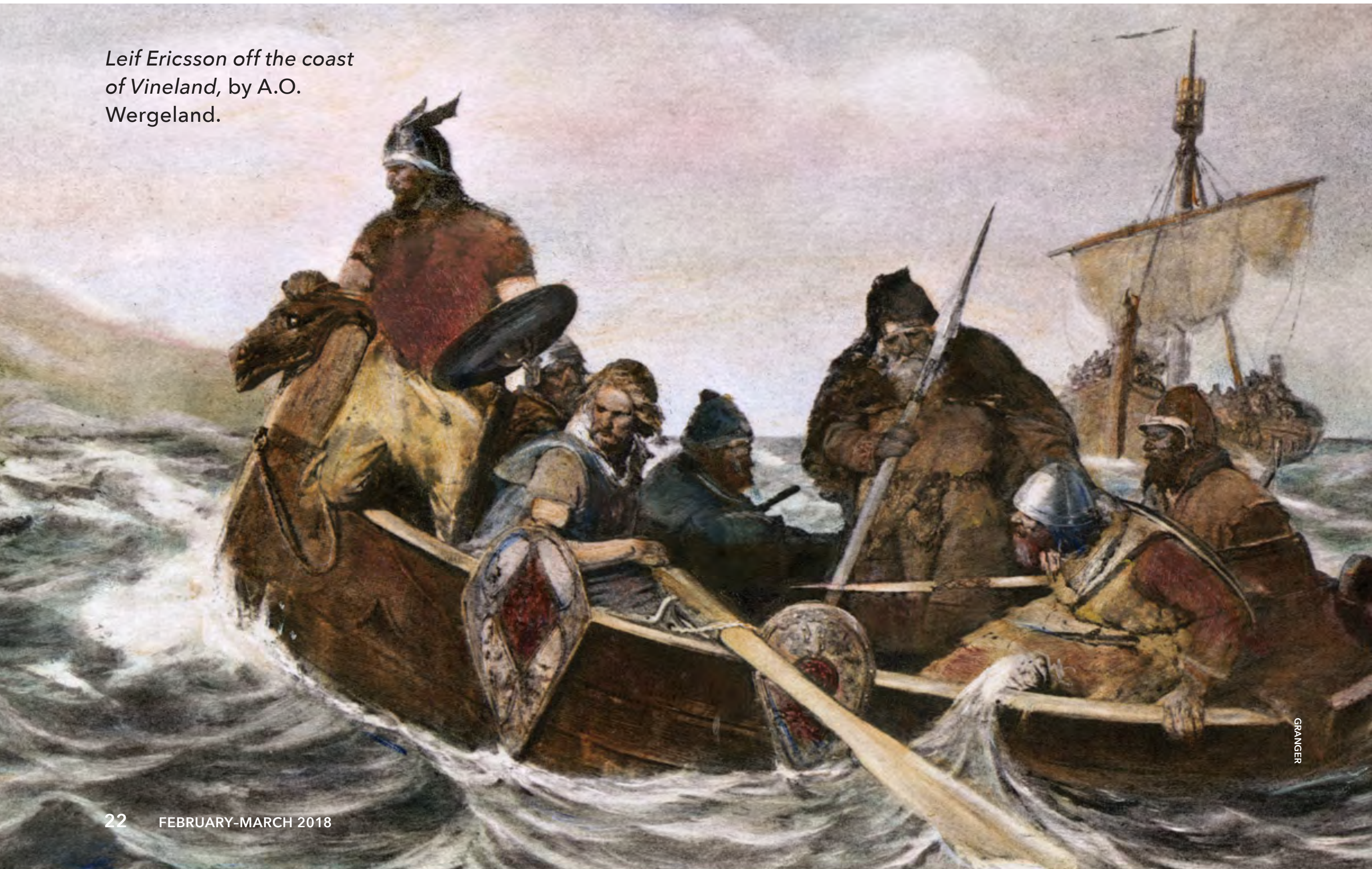
The King of Denmark … also told me that many in this part of the Ocean have discovered an island called Vinland because wild grapevines grow there that produce the best of wines. That one can also find there great fields of cereal which is self-sown is something I have from descriptions by trustworthy Danes and not from outlandish stories.

– Adam of Bremen, "Description of the Nordic Islands," circa 1075 (author's translation)

ADAM, AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY German historian, was the first to document the reality of Vinland, while foreshadowing the wild speculation about the settlement's existence and location that would dog scholars to this day. His reference is the earliest report on Vinland, a mysterious place located somewhere on the northeastern coast of North America.

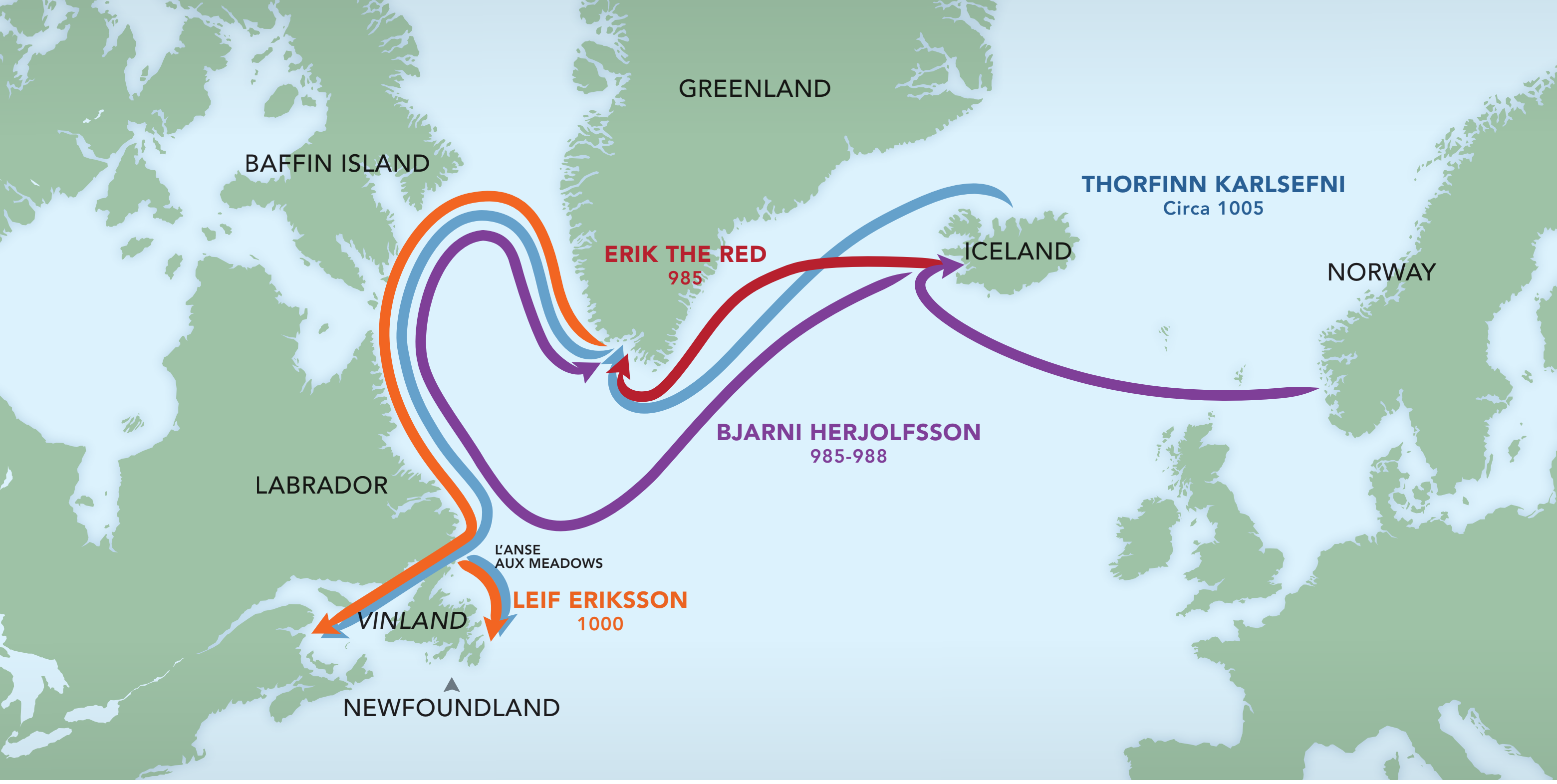
More complete accounts in medieval Icelandic manuscripts, written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, were based on older manuscripts, which in turn were based on oral traditions passed down for two to three hundred years. In one of the most important of those oral stories, known as sagas, Erik the Red's saga, the Norse established two bases, Straumfjord (Current Fjord), a winter base in northern Vinland, and Hóp (Estuary Lagoon), a summer camp in southern Vinland where they encountered grapes and excellent lumber. In the Greenlanders' saga the two bases have been combined into one, Leifsbúðir (Leif's Camp), a type of simplification that is common in oral stories retold over generations.

For the Norse, newly established in barren Greenland, endless supplies of good lumber and exotic grapes in Vinland would have been a welcome discovery. This undoubtedly took place in North America, but where, exactly?



Leif Ericsson off the coast of Vineland, by A.O. Wergeland.

GRANGER



During the Viking age, Norse sailors made several voyages of discovery across the Atlantic. The above map traces the journeys of Thorfinn Karlsefni, Bjarni Herjolfsson, Erik the Red, and the latter's son, Leif Eriksson.

JONATO DALAYOAN

That question and the mystery that prompted it have attracted enormous attention in North America, sparked by the publication in the United States of the Vinland sagas and all related documents in Latin translation in 1837 and in a shorter English version in 1838. The translator was Carl Christian Rafn, an Icelandic-born antiquarian working in Denmark. The title of the 1837 work is as long as it is impressive: *Antiquitates Americanae sive scriptores septentrionalis rerum ante-Columbarium in America* (American antiquities according to northern documents on pre-Columbian events in America).

It was considered so significant that Rafn had started corresponding with American scholars to discuss his ideas as early as the 1820s. The idea that Europeans had set foot on North American shores long before Columbus appealed to American intellectuals of the time. Because so little was known about the world of America's Indigenous inhabitants, Old World origins were sought for almost any discovery of note.

Antiquarian hearts quickened in 1832 at the discovery of a skeleton that appeared to be wearing armour and that was identified as a Norse warrior, at Fall River, Massachusetts. Ten years later the event was immortalized in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "The Skeleton in Armor." The skeleton has since been identified as that of an Indigenous person of the early colonial period who had been interred with a brass breastplate and tubular brass beads.

Of particular interest were Rafn's attempts to correlate specific regions and actual monuments with the Norse visits. He concluded that they had gone to Sakonnet Point on Narraganset Bay, south of present-day Boston, an area where one could indeed find wild grapes. Starting with Rafn's assertions, quickly and enduringly picked up by others, a small stone tower at nearby Newport, Rhode Island, was said to be a Norse church, and Indigenous petroglyphs at Dighton Rock, Massachusetts, were believed to be Norse runic script. Again, however, the theories were disproven; for instance, radiocarbon dating showed the tower was built in the mid-seventeenth century.

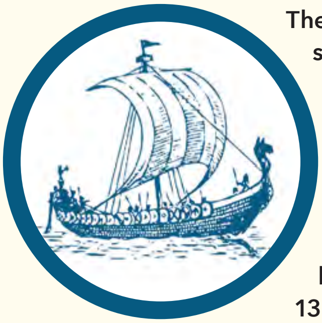
The next three decades saw an ever-increasing volume of writing on the subject, and the flow has never stopped. A notable early discourse, *The Problem of the Northmen*, was published in 1889 by Eben N. Horsford, a Harvard chemistry professor who had made a fortune with his improved formula for baking powder. He believed that the area around Charles River in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was Leif's Vinland. Horsford built a "Viking" tower and laid down a granite marker to celebrate it. His statue of Leif still stands on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston.

The so-called Beardmore finds of the 1930s caused a stir in Canada when James Edward Dodd, a prospector from Port Arthur, Ontario, walked into Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum with a rusted Viking sword, an axe head, and a broken iron rattle of the type used as jingle bells on Viking horses. The items, he explained, had been found on a mining claim at Beardmore, Ontario.

When it was established that the pieces were genuine, a grant of five hundred dollars, a considerable amount of money at the time, was raised to purchase the artifacts, which were then displayed in a special exhibition. Not long after, however, it was discovered that the find had not been made on the mining claim but in the basement of Dodd's landlord, J.M. Hansen. The pieces had arrived not by Viking ship but in 1923 with a young Norwegian who had placed them with Hansen as guarantee for a loan. They are still in the ROM's collection but are not on display.

Many other artifacts and sites have been advanced as evidence of the Vinland voyages. For a brief time in 2015, a site

THE SAGAS



There are two major sources for the story of Vinland. One is known as the Greenlanders' saga. There are two versions of the other, Erik the Red's saga: Hauk's book and Skalholt book. They are nearly identical, but certain significant details differ. Hauk's book was largely written between 1306 and 1308, mostly by the Icelandic law speaker Hauk Erlendsson. The Skalholt book is named after the episcopal seat Skalholt, where the book was preserved.

There are considerable differences between the two sagas. The Greenlanders' saga describes the accidental sighting of Vinland by Bjarni Herjolfsson and five subsequent expeditions, the first led by Leif Eriksson and the others by members of his family. Erik the Red's saga tells the same story but with all the expeditions combined into one major expedition led by Thorfinn Karlsefni and his wife, Gudrid. In this version, Leif has been pushed into the role of accidental discoverer, storm-driven to an unknown land. The Icelandic historian Ólafur Halldórsson has shown that Thorfinn and Gudrid were given greater prominence to enhance the fame of one of their late twelfth-century descendants.

PARKS CANADA

at Point Rosee, in the southwest of the island of Newfoundland, looked promising. But excavations in 2016 proved that it, too, was a red herring. The only proven Norse site is L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Too often, the search for Vinland has been based on the sagas' descriptions of geographical features and specific resources. The problem with that approach is that the descriptions are so general that they fit not one but hundreds of places along the eastern seaboard: lakes, rivers, islands, mountains, and even tides. The tides, described by the sagas as so dramatic that ships could land only during high tide, have prompted some to believe that only a location in the Bay of Fundy would warrant this description. But the descriptions could also apply to the shallow coastal waters of Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick, or to areas farther south.

The resources are also mentioned in very general terms: eider ducks, halibut, wild grapes, burl wood, salmon, and "self-sown wheat." All can be found along the entire eastern coast as well as in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, although in summer eider ducks are not common south of Maine.

"Self-sown wheat" was originally identified as wild rice by the botanist Frederik Schübeler in 1858. His assertion is often repeated today but makes little sense, given that wild rice does not resemble Norse wheat and grows mostly in inland lakes.

Other European newcomers to Canada provide a better explanation. Jacques Cartier described the dune grass at Chaleur Bay as "wild wheat with a head like barley and a seed like oats." At Cap aux Oies, east of Quebec City, the Swedish botanist Peter Kalm observed in 1749, "The sea-lime grass likewise abounds on the shores … the places covered with them looking, at a distance, like corn fields; which might explain the passage in our northern accounts … which mentions, that they had found whole fields of wheat growing wild." Corn in this account reflects the English term for cereal grains, rather than North American maize.

What Kalm and Cartier refer to is American dune grass, or lyme grass, *Elymus mollis*, which grows along most of the eastern coastline of North America. It is a New World species distinct from the European *Elymus arenarius* and is strikingly similar in appearance to Norse wheat of the time, which was predominantly emmer, a subspecies of *Triticum turgidum*.

Two of the assets reported by the Norse are helpful in locating Vinland: salmon and wild grapes. While salmon bones have been found in pre-contact sites in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland and Labrador, none have been found at sites of the same period south of New Brunswick, according to the Canadian archaeologist Catherine Carlson. Thus Vinland could not have extended south of Maine.

Rivers in New Brunswick, on the other hand, were famous for

A reconstructed Viking hut at L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site near the northern tip of the island of Newfoundland.

their abundance of salmon. Early European explorers noted the plentiful fish in the Miramichi and Restigouche rivers, and the salmon figured in the totem of the Mi'kmaq in the Restigouche River area. The size of the fish amazed European immigrants; in the late eighteenth century, individual salmon occasionally reached a weight of more than twenty-five kilograms. But changes to habitat mean the species today is on the verge of extinction.

Many enthusiasts have assumed that the northern limit of wild grapes was in New England because of the abundance noted there by early European explorers. In fact, wild grapes also thrive in New Brunswick and in the St. Lawrence Valley, primarily in river valleys with good sun exposure and rather dry soils.

Hide-covered canoes described in the sagas were common among the ancestors of Algonquin-speaking people north of Massachusetts — especially those in northern Maine and in Atlantic Canada, where the canoes were mainly used on rivers. South of there, Indigenous people used dugouts. The combination of wild grapes, salmon, and canoes suggests that Vinland must have included areas surrounding the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The discovery of a Norse site in 1960 offered an opportunity to look at Vinland from a different angle. A tall Norwegian by the name of Helge Ingstad arrived at the little village of L'Anse aux Meadows on the tip of Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula asking about signs of Norse turf houses. Four years earlier, a Danish archaeologist, Jørgen Meldgaard, had asked the same questions. This time a local fisherman Ingstad approached had an answer: "Yes, there is something like that on my property."

Ingstad returned the next year with an excavation crew headed by his wife, the archaeologist Anne Stine Ingstad, to begin work on the site. The excavations continued over the summers until 1968, by which time the site had been verified as Norse and dated to the eleventh century. It was declared a National Historic Site of Canada and placed under the management of Parks Canada.

But many questions remained: How long had the site been occupied? Why had it been abandoned? What was the relationship of the Norse to the many Indigenous occupations of the site? A series of excavations under Parks Canada's auspices from 1973 to 1976 provided some answers.

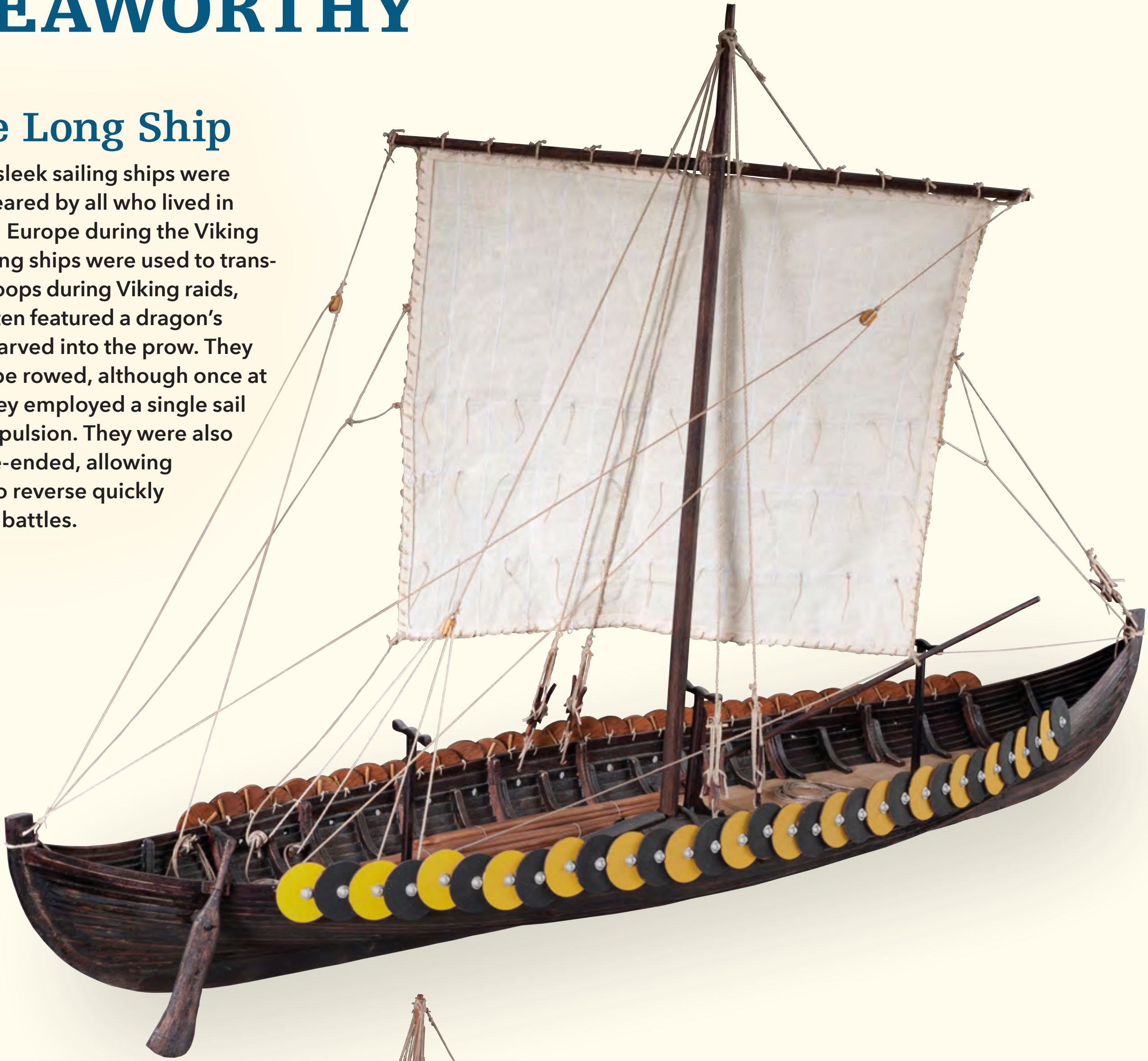
It is now possible to look at Vinland using evidence from archaeology, independently of the literary sources. In fact, L'Anse aux Meadows provides the key to Vinland.

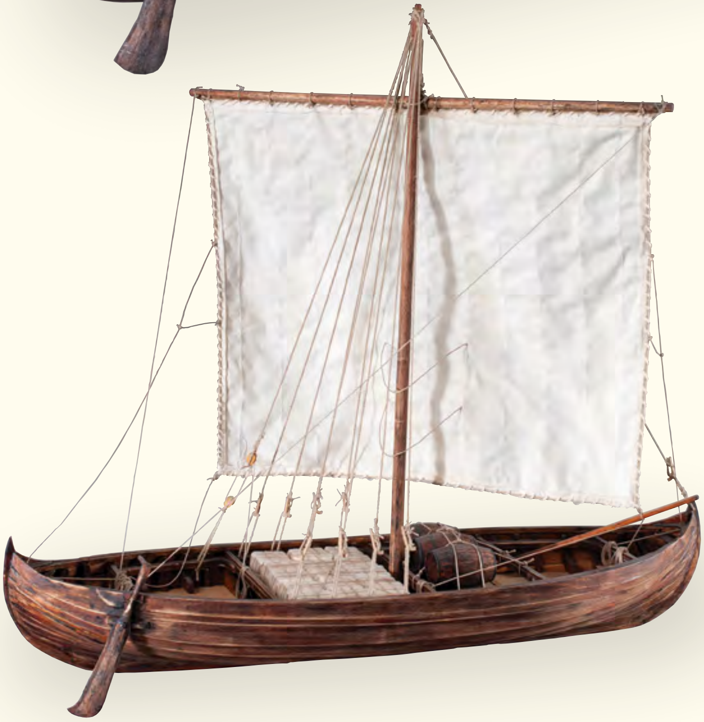
Dating from sometime between 980 and 1020, the settlement was occupied for only about a decade. Its eight buildings, made of turf laid in thick layers over wooden frames, are typical of Icelandic and Greenland architecture of that time, but the layout shows that it was not a normal settlement site. At the time, the Norse depended almost wholly on livestock farming. Barns and animal enclosures are prominent features on Norse

SEAWORTHY

The Long Ship

These sleek sailing ships were once feared by all who lived in coastal Europe during the Viking era. Long ships were used to transport troops during Viking raids, and often featured a dragon's head carved into the prow. They could be rowed, although once at sea, they employed a single sail for propulsion. They were also double-ended, allowing them to reverse quickly during battles.





The Knarr

This squat and sturdy cousin to the long ship was used primarily for transporting cargo. The knarr was used extensively during the Viking age to ship everything from supplies and livestock to settlers. The Vikings who visited the New World travelled there via knarrs. They primarily relied on a sail for propulsion, using oars primarily for launching and landing.

PHOTOS COURTESY OF DUSEK SHIP KITS

Interpreters at L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic site re-enact life at the former Viking settlement.

PARKS CANADA

farms of the period, but there are no such structures at L'Anse aux Meadows. If any livestock were present, they were perhaps so few that they left no mark.

With one exception, all the buildings were dwellings of different kinds for different social ranks. There were three large halls, two of which were of a size typically occupied by chieftains and their staff. The halls were flanked by smaller and simpler dwellings for workers of low rank. The buildings' thick walls and heavy sod roofs were clearly meant to withstand winter. The likely population of seventy to ninety people was sizeable, considering that the Norse colony in Greenland numbered no more than five hundred inhabitants.

The location on the exposed northern tip of the peninsula is unusual. In Iceland and Greenland the favoured locations are in more protected places inland. L'Anse aux Meadows faces Labrador and has a wide view over the Strait of Belle Isle, suggesting that navigation in the strait was an important factor.

Building L'Anse aux Meadows required a considerable amount of work. The construction would have taken the better part of a summer. From the turf patterns and the complementary work activities we can tell that all the houses were built and occupied at the same time.

The artifacts reveal that this was not a normal family settlement filled with domestic chores. Practically all of the items relate to a workstation for carpentry, boat repair, and the fabrication of iron. Carpenters left hundreds of wood chips from axe and knife cuts together with broken and discarded objects, such as the floor plank from a small boat, a birchbark cup, and a bow drill. Concentrations of cut-off boat nails show where the repair of a small boat had taken place. In a hut dug into the bank along a brook that runs through the site, bog ore had been smelted into iron in a simple furnace, which appears to have been used only once. This iron could have been forged into nails to complete the boat repair.

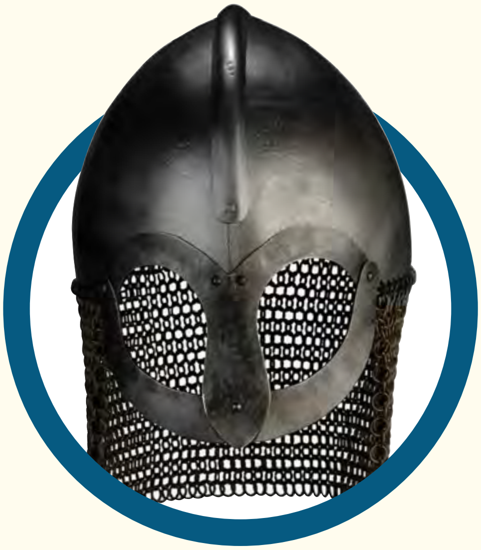
Small personal objects lost by their owners also provide clues: a small bronze pin for a man's cloak, the flywheel of a hand-held spindle, a small whetstone for sharpening scissors, a glass bead, a broken bone pin, and a tiny fragment of a gilded brass ring. While the work debris shows that most of the inhabitants were men, the spindle whorl and whetstone testify to the presence of women.

Other artifacts found at the site show that L'Anse aux Meadows served as a base for exploratory excursions, which in turn explains why the site is directly on the coast. For instance, among the wood chips were pieces of linden, beech, eastern hemlock, elm, and butternut wood.

None of these are native to Newfoundland, and none grow north of Prince Edward Island and the St. Lawrence Valley. The presence of linden and butternut tells us that the Norse at L'Anse aux Meadows had been at least as far south as eastern New Brunswick, where those species thrive.

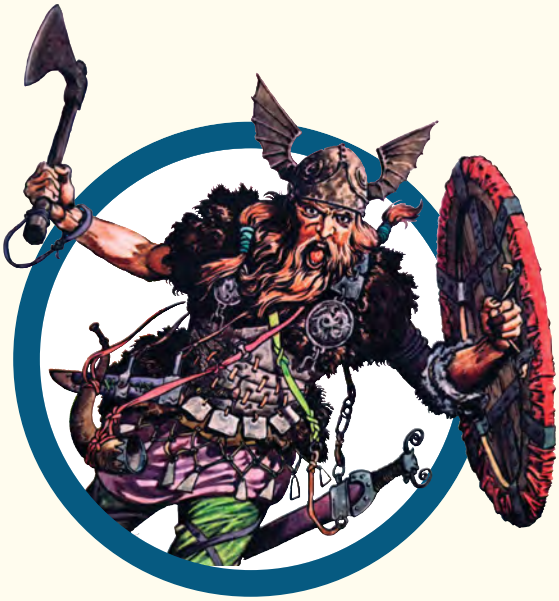
Significant here are the facts that butternut trees grow in the same areas as wild grapes and that the produce of both ripens in late September to early October. It seems likely that anyone picking the nuts — favoured as a luxury imported food back home — had also encountered grapes.

VIKINGS | FACT OR FICTION?



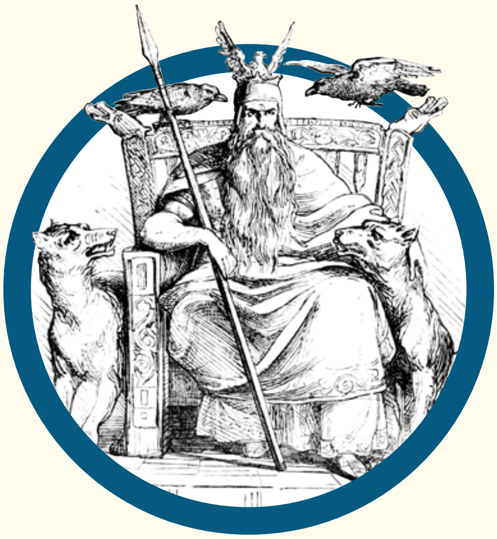
Vikings wore horned helmets.

Sorry, but the iconic image of a Viking bedecked in horned or winged helmets is a fallacy. Real Vikings wore bowl-like helmets constructed in the spangenhelm style. These helmets featured a nose guard to protect against blows to the face.



They were all ruthless killers.

While Vikings are indeed guilty of most of the terrible deeds attributed to them — from robbing monasteries and raiding settlements to torture and murder — they were also proficient traders, exchanging goods such as textiles, pottery, silver, and slaves with peoples as far away as the Mediterranean and Russia.



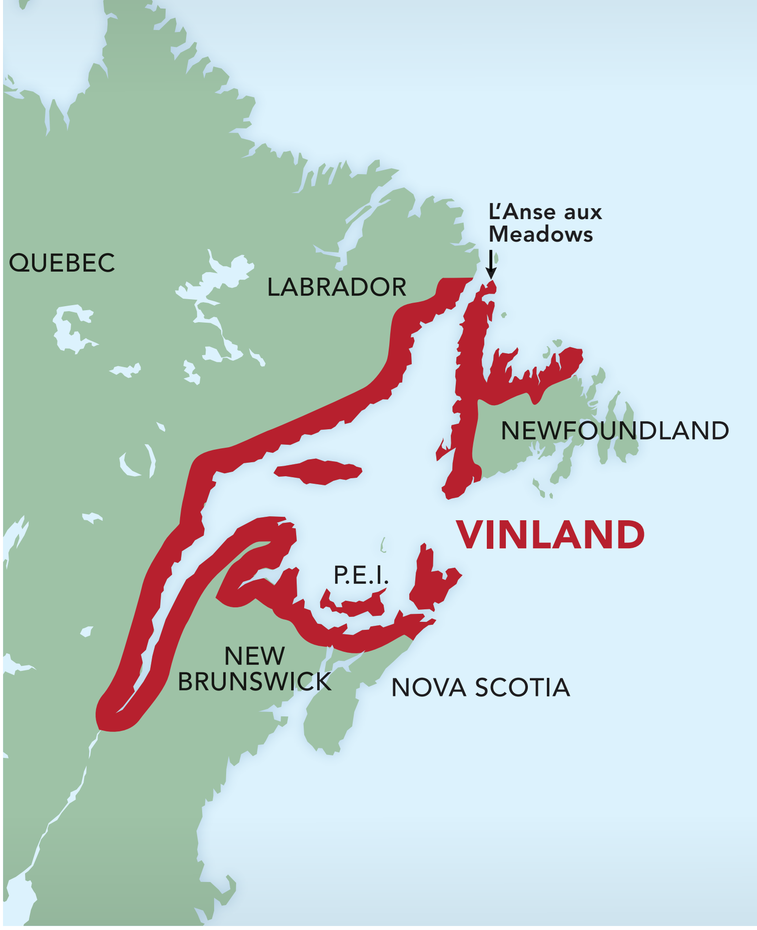
Some days of the week are named after Norse gods.

This one is true! Wednesday is named after Odin, also known as Woten; hence, "Woten's day." His son, Thor, is remembered with "Thor's day," or Thursday. "Freya's Day," or Friday, is named after a Norse love goddess, while "Tiw's Day," or Tuesday, is named after a war god.

Vikings were feminists.

Well, not exactly — even though Viking women had more legal rights than many of their contemporaries in other parts of Europe. For instance, Viking women could inherit property, ask for a divorce, and even reclaim their dowries if their marriages ended.

CANADIAN MUSEUM OF HISTORY, LOOK AND LEARN, PUBLIC DOMAIN, 123RF STOCK



This map shows locations, marked in red, that collectively could be the famed Vinland mentioned in Norse sagas, with the settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows as its heart.

JONATO DALAYOAN

Another indication of the Norse travelling away from the site is the presence of a fire-striker made of jasper; striking the jasper against a piece of steel produces a spark.

The jasper came from Baie Verte on the northern coast of the island of Newfoundland, about two hundred kilometres southeast of L'Anse aux Meadows. Other jasper fire-strikers found on the site originated in Greenland and Iceland. The Greenland jasper was found in and around the biggest and most complex hall on the site, which, based on Norse settlements elsewhere, must have belonged to the leader.

At this point we can return to the sagas to see what they really say. Geographical descriptions are sketchy at best. Far more important is the nature of the expeditions, including the type of participants, the reasons for the expeditions, the kind of community established, activities occurring year-round, resources, and the time and length of the stays.

According to the sagas, most of the settlement's inhabitants were male. There were aristocratic leaders and well-to-do merchant shipowners. With them were hired labourers plus members of the leaders' domestic staff who would have had special abilities and experiences, such as serving on previous explorations and proficiency in crafts. The tales also tell that at least one resident was a foreign-born slave who served as a child-minder, or fóstri, in Leif's family. The expeditions also included a few women, who would have performed domestic tasks.

All expeditions were expected to return to Greenland with a valuable cargo. The Norse explorers established an inventory of useful resources, especially goods that were not available in Greenland, such as timber. Everyone returned to the base for the winter.

Travel, especially to faraway, little-known countries, could also bring fame. Both sagas tie the date of the Vinland voyages to the last few years of the reign of King Olaf Tryggvason of Norway, who ruled from roughly 995 to 1000, when he died in the Battle of Svolder.

Although we do not have an exact date for the Norse voyages, they must have begun sometime around the year 1000, the period during which L'Anse aux Meadows was established. Each expedition stayed two to three years to make the long journeys worthwhile, but the voyages stopped after about a decade. The reason given in the sagas for abandoning Vinland is that the new land was already inhabited and the Norse were outnumbered and sure to lose in any kind of conflict.

The meetings of the Norse with the land's Indigenous occupants surprised both parties, as described in Erik the Red's saga: "Early one morning they saw hide-covered boats rowing in from the south around a headland. There were so many that it seemed like coals strewn over the lagoon, and poles were swung on every boat." Paddles and paddling were unknown to the Norse.

"The strangers rowed towards them and stared at them in amazement .... The men were dark in complexion, grim-looking and with unruly hair on their heads. Their eyes were big and their faces broad.

"Karlsefni and his men raised their red shields against them, and the natives leapt off their boats and then they all began to fight.... Karlsefni and his men were struck with fear and fled upriver ... until they reached a rock wall where they began to fight. ... Two of Karlsefni's men were killed and many of the natives fell, yet Karlsefni's force was outnumbered."

Many researchers have looked for oral accounts of interactions between Indigenous peoples and the Norse, with no definitive results. There were further interchanges, with deadly outcome on both sides — and, apparently feeling outnumbered, the Norse eventually returned to Greenland.

The parallels between L'Anse aux Meadows and the Vinland of the sagas are clear. And the size of L'Anse aux Meadows makes it likely that it would have been mentioned in the sagas. Greenland simply did not have the population to set up more than one such base. L'Anse aux Meadows is in fact the Straumfjord of Erik the Red's saga.

Even the sagas' geographical description applies: At this point the Strait of Belle Isle narrows in the distance; in the middle is an island, Belle Isle, known for the multidirectional currents swirling around it. As L'Anse aux Meadows site manager Lloyd Decker said, this is "the only place where one can see the same iceberg come around twice."

L'Anse aux Meadows is also an easy landmark for anyone following the Labrador coast south. When another coast appears on the port side, one simply has to cross over to find the site.

Hóp, where the grapes, hardwood lumber, and butternuts grew, is in eastern New Brunswick, making Vinland the entire area surrounding the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with Straumfjord at its northern limit. The mystery of Vinland has been solved.

MERCY MISSION

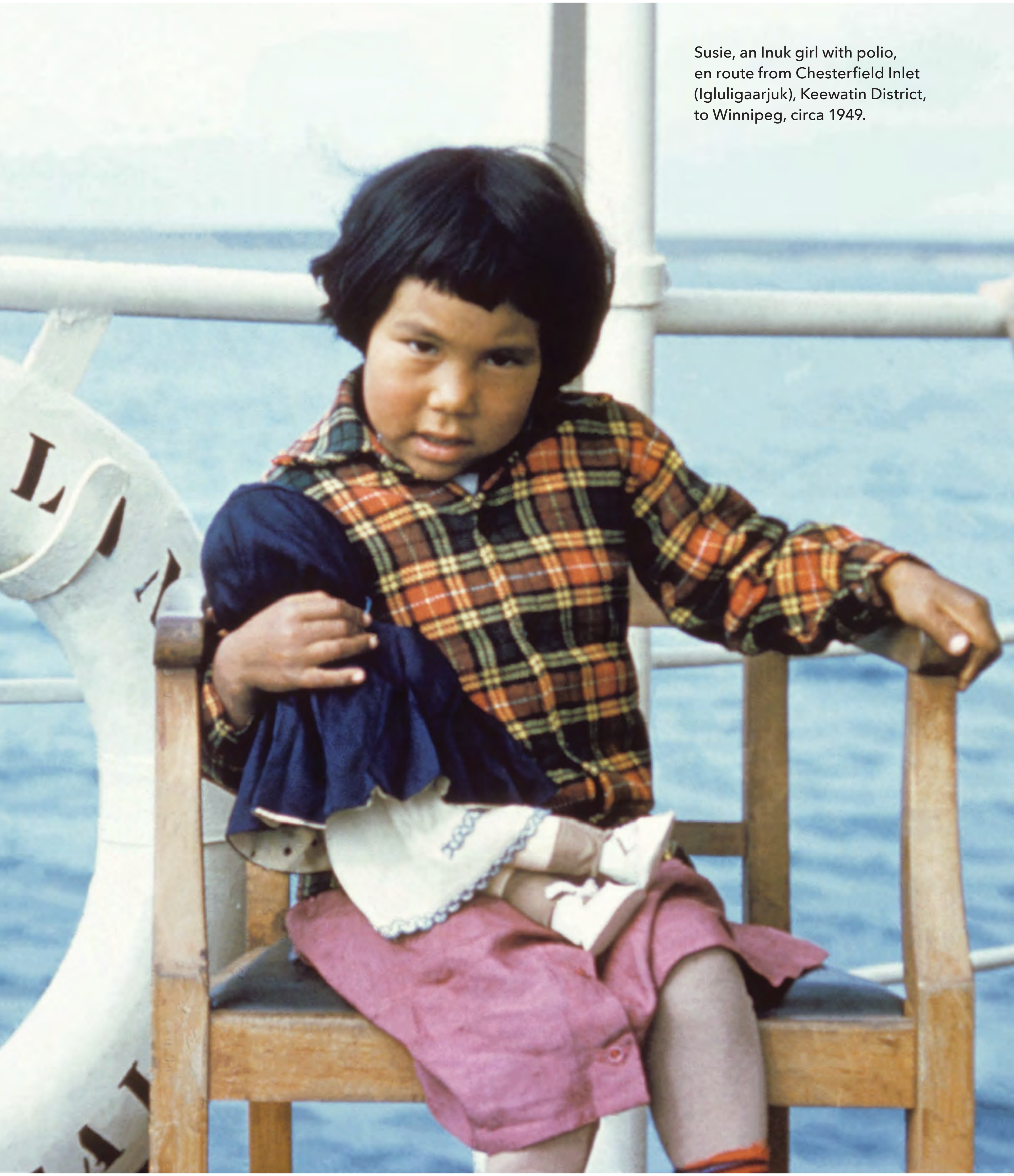
WHEN POLIO STRUCK AN INUIT COMMUNITY IN THE LATE 1940S, IT LED TO A TRAGEDY THAT SHOCKED THE COUNTRY.

BY CHRISTOPHER J. RUTTY

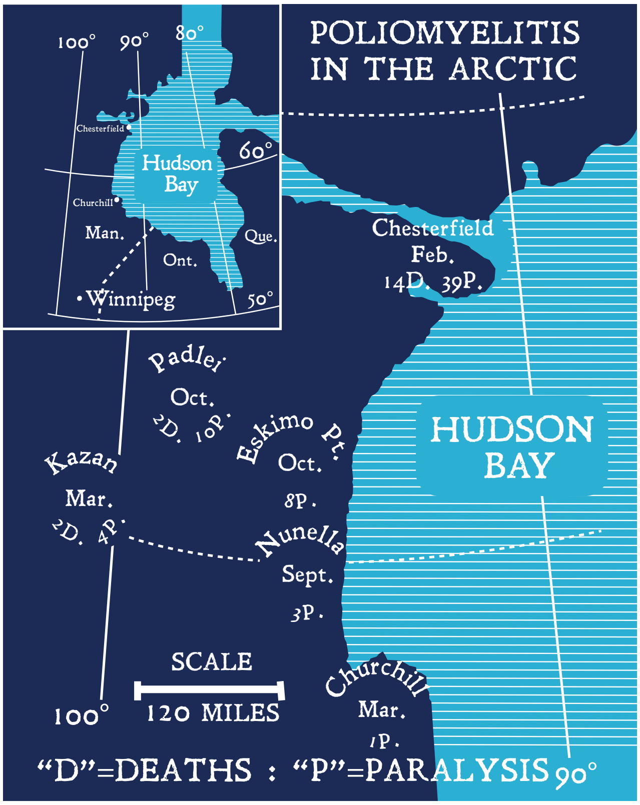
CONSTANCE "CONNIE" BEATTIE WAS the only real choice to answer a distress call issued by the Department of Indian Affairs in late March 1949. A physiotherapist was urgently needed to help treat Inuit polio victims in the Arctic settlement of Chesterfield Inlet on the west coast of Hudson Bay. It would be an unprecedented mission in response to an unprecedented and especially tragic polio epidemic that struck during the winter of 1948–49, seemingly seeking out a large proportion of the immunologically vulnerable Inuit population. There were about 275 Inuit, along with 25 non-Inuit, living in and around the outpost.

Connie was twenty-four years old. She grew up in Brockville, Ontario, and graduated from the University of Toronto's physiotherapy program in 1945 before serving in the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps. In 1948 she joined Toronto East General Hospital's physiotherapy department and very quickly became its head. She was also president of the Toronto branch of the Canadian Physiotherapy Association, which was where officials from the Department of Indian Affairs started their search.

Connie wasted little time in volunteering her services. "It will be a thrilling adventure and a chance to help those unfortu-



Susie, an Inuk girl with polio, en route from Chesterfield Inlet (Igluligaarjuk), Keewatin District, to Winnipeg, circa 1949.



Above: This recreation of a map published in the October 1949 issue of the *Canadian Medical Association Journal* shows areas affected by the poliomyelitis outbreak during the winter of 1948–49, including Churchill, Chesterfield Inlet, and a settlement to the west of Hudson Bay. Centre: Constance Beattie in the summer of 1949, at Fairway Island (known today as Pitsiulartok) in Hudson Bay.

MAP BY MATHEW YATHON; PHOTO: CONSTANCE BEATTIE, COURTESY OF HER NEPHEW, CHUCK BEATTIE

nate Eskimos who don't have half the chance that polio victims get down here," she told the press on April 2, 1949.

A month earlier, North American newspapers first reported the alarming news of a mysterious epidemic striking Chesterfield Inlet — Igluligaarjuk in Inuktitut — the oldest permanent settlement in Nunavut and the hub of the Keewatin District. Early reports said eleven Inuit had died from the disease, which appeared similar to poliomyelitis, but noted that "white persons" seemed to have escaped it.

Very little about the outbreak fit what was known about polio at the time, especially the way "the crippler" had struck so far north in the middle of winter when the average temperature was near minus forty degrees Celsius. One sixth of the Inuit population in the immediate area was affected, including many adults, leaving them with varying degrees of paralysis.

Dr. Joseph P. Moody, the federal government's medical officer of health for the Eastern Arctic and resident physician at Chesterfield, took the unprecedented step of ordering the quarantine of more than one hundred thousand square kilometres surrounding the outpost, tightly restricting the movement of the vast area's six hundred or so mostly nomadic Inuit. The massive quarantine would remain in place for almost nine months.

Leaflets written in syllabic Inuktitut, the main Inuit language, warned of a disease that could cripple and kill people of all ages. They also noted that those who were well or sick could spread the disease and emphasized the importance of avoiding the affected area and anyone in it until further notice.

On March 2, 1949, a team of five doctors arrived at Chesterfield from Winnipeg. After a few days of investigating the outbreak, treating cases in St. Theresa Hospital and gathering specimens for laboratory tests, the doctors returned to Winnipeg on an RCAF Dakota. Also on board were thirteen Inuit polio patients for further treatment at Winnipeg's King George Hospital. Twelve were partially paralyzed "stretcher cases," as the *Globe and Mail* described them, the oldest a forty-five-year-old man; six were under the age of twelve. All would need specialized physiotherapy.

Just as the flight left the outpost, Moody confirmed that polio was indeed the cause of death of at least one of the Inuit: Nagjuk, a much revered elder and shaman healer. An autopsy revealed the unmistakable pathology of poliomyelitis in his spinal cord. Nagjuk had not been co-operative in trying to stop the epidemic, despite several deaths occurring each night due to the virus impairing respiratory muscles. "I am not able to do anything, because I was told not to," Nagjuk is quoted as saying in a 2002 Nunavut Arctic College document. He foresaw many deaths due to a broken taboo, and despite desperate pleas, including from his wife, he refused to do anything. He remained well but was convinced that his whole family would die unless he died first. When one of his grandchildren succumbed to the disease, Nagjuk was found dead the next morning. However, no more family members died, and those who were sick recovered.

Above: The Sammurtok family, including Jacqueline Tulurialik Sammurtok (front row left, with hat), and Honore Aggark (man in front), poses inside an igloo near Chesterfield Inlet, August 1949. Constance Beattie took the photo, which was included with a letter of condolence, written by Sister St. Ignace de Loyola, that was sent to Beattie's parents a year after her death. Below: Beattie photographed these Inuit women and a young child at Chesterfield Inlet, in the spring or summer of 1949.

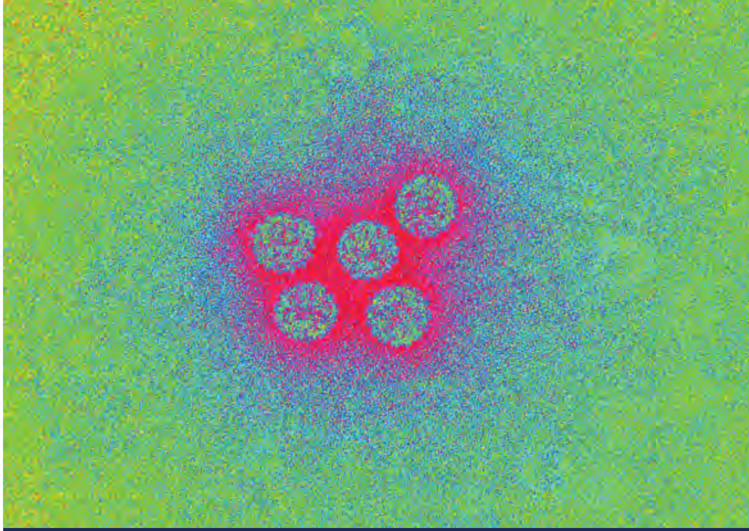
ABOVE PHOTOS: CONSTANCE BEATTIE, COURTESY OF HER NEPHEW, CHUCK BEATTIE; PHOTO RIGHT: WELLCOME COLLECTION

News of the Arctic polio epidemic spread quickly in Canadian and American newspapers. The reports focused on its severity and rarity, with doctors and scientists struggling to explain the unprecedented crisis.

Many experts doubted that polio was the real cause. A physician from New York City wrote to the Manitoba minister of health and public welfare, seeking information about "the so-called polio victims under treatment in Manitoba." In the loaded language of the time, he wrote that it seemed "hardly believable that a summer disease like poliomyelitis, which usually affects people with high modern sanitary standards, should cause a winter epidemic amongst natives of the frozen north with their primitive living conditions."

Leading polio researchers pressed Dr. Andrew J. Rhodes of Connaught Medical Research Laboratories at the University of Toronto to expedite the testing of specimens from Chesterfield Inlet. Rhodes, a foremost virus specialist with special expertise in polio, had been recruited from the United Kingdom in 1947 to lead a comprehensive poliovirus research program.

By the end of April 1949, Rhodes was able to confirm the presence of the poliovirus in specimens from five Inuit cases. There was now no doubt about the polio diagnosis, but researchers were uncertain how to explain its presence in such unusual geographic and climate conditions. And why was it striking this traditional nomadic population with such severity? Rhodes was not aware that polio had struck the Arctic region before. There had been



POLIOMYELITIS

A MYSTERIOUS ENEMY VANQUISHED

Not long ago, polio – short for poliomyelitis – was one of the most feared diseases on the planet. Highly infectious, it does not usually have visible symptoms, and about three quarters of sufferers recover in a few days. In the other one quarter of victims, though, the poliovirus can turn deadly, attacking the spinal cord.

Victims can develop meningitis and paralysis, which in turn lead to death in as many as ten per cent of those stricken, when their breathing and swallowing muscles are weakened or paralyzed. The only treatment was the iron lung, developed in the late 1920s, which forced air in and out of the lungs. Before the advent of vaccines in the mid-1950s, polio was a terrifyingly common and indiscriminate scourge.

Polio epidemics first emerged during the late nineteenth century and worsened through the first half of the twentieth, ironically because of improving public health standards limiting what had been all but universal circulation of the poliovirus among infants. By the late 1940s, polio was the middle-class plague, mostly striking otherwise healthy children as well as increasing numbers of adults, particularly in new postwar suburbs.

Polio epidemics peaked in Canada in 1953 with some nine thousand cases and five hundred deaths. Much remained mysterious and uniquely frightening about polio during the late 1940s. With epidemics typically starting during the summer "polio season," the popular and scientific view of "the crippler" as a warm-weather threat was reinforced in North America.

Widespread immunization programs started in 1955 with the vaccine developed by Dr. Jonas Salk and changed everything. The last polio case in Canada was in the 1970s, and the country was certified polio-free in 1994. Worldwide incidence has declined ninety-nine per cent since 1988. Polio remains active only in Pakistan and Afghanistan, according to the World Health Organization.

several outbreaks among the Greenland Inuit, most notably one in 1925 that caused twenty-seven deaths among a population of eight hundred.

Based on Moody's initial investigations, the outbreak was traced to September 1948 and a person named Tutu, who was described in a *Toronto Star* report as "a tough young Eskimo hunter." After a good season of caribou hunting, Tutu went to Churchill, Manitoba, to trade some ivory carvings. There he likely came into contact with someone who was infected with polio but not showing symptoms, and became a carrier himself. He then took a month-long journey home, visiting many camps and settlements, all the while unwittingly spreading polio — an Arctic "Typhoid Mary," as a *Toronto Star* report suggested.

During the first week of October, two cases of paralytic polio developed in the Inuit camp of Nunella and three in Eskimo Point, now known as Arviat, Nunavut. One of the Nunella cases was an Anglican missionary, the other an Inuk RCMP special constable, Jimmy Gibbons, who developed paralysis in his arms. Gibbons soon travelled to Padlei, where seven paralytic cases, two resulting in death, developed by late December.

More detailed epidemiological investigations traced the origin of the outbreak further back, to July 1948. An Inuk man contracted polio north of Churchill in early July; in late September, he was flown to Winnipeg for physiotherapy treatment of his left leg. The same month, and in the same region, a young Chipewyan girl was also stricken with polio.

More detailed epidemiological investigations traced the origin of the outbreak further back to July 1948.

The original source of polio in the Churchill area was a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force, who was flown to Winnipeg and diagnosed with polio soon after he arrived. Moody had not been informed of the case, despite Churchill's location on the border of his jurisdiction.

Father Henri-Paul Dionne, a Roman Catholic missionary, was the likely connection between the first polio outbreak and the start of the epidemic in Chesterfield Inlet. He flew to Chesterfield from Eskimo Point on January 28, 1949. He did not show symptoms, although it was clear that he had visited polio victims in Eskimo Point. While in Chesterfield, he stayed in the outpost's hospital, visited patients, and mingled among the white and Inuit populations.

Five days after his departure on February 9, the first of many polio cases emerged in Chesterfield. Within two weeks, fifteen of the twenty-five Inuit who were in the hospital developed polio; three died, and eight were paralyzed.

An unusually mild fall and an early winter season set the stage for polio to spread among the vulnerable Inuit population in the area. Warmer than normal temperatures led to the spoiling of caribou meat caches that would otherwise have remained frozen into the winter. During January and February, many Inuit were forced to travel to Chesterfield Inlet to buy food from the store, becoming exposed to the virus in the process.

By the end of March, some sixty polio cases appeared in a population of about 275. Thirty-eight were paralyzed, and thirteen died from respiratory complications. According to Moody, however, the majority of sufferers were not seriously paralyzed. He felt that several of the cases would benefit from physiotherapy but advised against evacuating them to Winnipeg. Instead, he suggested the assistance of a person trained in orthopaedic exercises — a person like Connie Beattie.

Beattie committed to spending four months in Chesterfield Inlet, working closely with Moody and the Grey Nun nurses at St. Theresa Hospital. As newspaper reports noted, she would not have to live in an igloo but would sleep in the seven-bed mission hospital. The epidemic forced improvisations to add twenty-eight more beds.

Beattie's Arctic adventure actually began in Winnipeg on April 11, after a hurried flight from Toronto following the annual congress of the Canadian Physiotherapy Association, which she had organized.

She spent three weeks at Winnipeg's King George Hospital assisting with the care of the thirteen Inuit polio patients from Chesterfield. But, as she noted in a letter published in the June 1949 issue of the *Journal of the Canadian Physiotherapy Association*, there had essentially been "no physio" provided so far. Despite "the Winnipeg girls doing a noble job," she said, the hospital desperately needed a physiotherapist, especially for the Inuit patients.

Beattie focused most of her attention on two of the Inuit boys, six-year-old George Tanniak and five-year-old Simeone Yerak, whom she would accompany back to Chesterfield for additional physiotherapy. As an isolation hospital, King George was not suitable for a therapy program involving walking. However, with some specialized equipment flown up to the Chesterfield hospital, Beattie could expedite the recovery of the boys and the other patients.

Much of her time in Winnipeg was spent getting properly outfitted for an Arctic spring and summer with the help of RCAF pilots familiar with the North. Because there were no appropriate women's clothes at the Fort Osborne Barracks in Winnipeg, she had to look in the men's department of several Winnipeg stores. She was soon outfitted with a huge parka, over-pants, flannel shirts, and flight boots, writing that the "daintiest article is a pair of knee high rubber boots — laced!"

In short, as Beattie wrote in her letter to the physiotherapy journal just before heading north, "Nobody knows anything about women in the Arctic — what they do, what they wear or anything. The Army gave me the wrong size warm stuff and nothing else, so I've been in a complete flap."

Her frazzled state persisted when, on April 24, she finally boarded the RCAF Dakota heading to Chesterfield Inlet via Churchill. Her luggage was somehow misplaced, and she had to leave without it. Besides the Inuit boys, also on board were four doctors and a nurse from the Department of Indian Affairs.

A department secretary sent a letter to Beattie's parents, informing them of her safe arrival in Chesterfield on April 26. The secretary also mentioned, “I had not associated this Miss Beattie with the little girl I knew to be your daughter when I lived in Brockville. I hope she will enjoy her work with this service. I know that it will be a great, if unusual experience for her.”

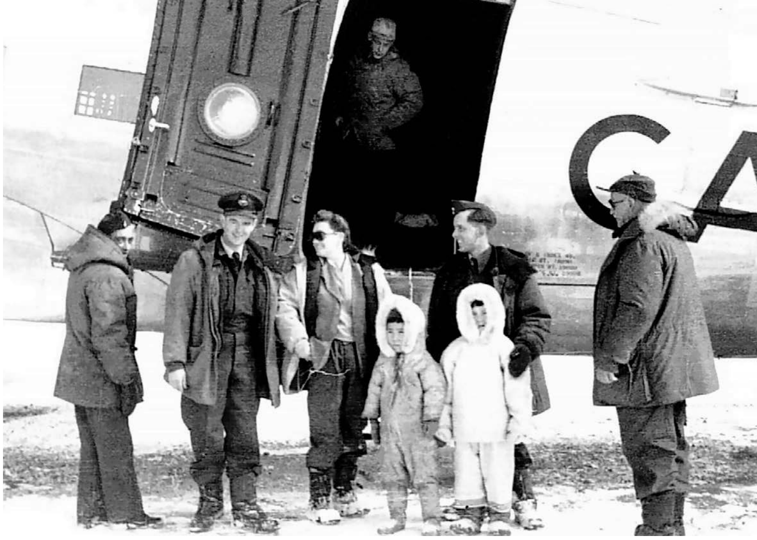
On May 6, the day after the doctors and nurse returned to Winnipeg, Connie sent her mother a telegram for Mother's Day. She was happy and healthy and gaining weight, and she noted that at twenty-two degrees Fahrenheit (about minus six degrees Celsius), “it's hot here.”

People in the area quickly became fond of Beattie, as Moody recalled in his 1955 book, *Arctic Doctor*. To the local Inuit, she was Isuaksiajikulaq, or “young doctor.” She was a competent and cheerful assistant to Moody and did remarkable therapeutic work among the forty polio patients left with residual paralysis, providing therapy to patients in the hospital and in their igloos. She was also a welcome companion to Moody's wife and young daughter when he went on patrols.

An important part of Beattie's treatment involved applying hot packs to weak and paralyzed muscles, a technique pioneered by Australian nurse Sister Elizabeth Kenny in the 1930s. In 1940, Kenny moved to the U.S. to promote her method and directly challenged the standard medical treatment of polio in North America, which had long been based on splints and surgery. By the late 1940s, the Kenny method was the prevailing treatment method and promoted a more active physiotherapy-based approach. In a letter home Beattie stressed, “Arctic or no Arctic, I am still hotpacking!” She often had to melt snow to obtain water for the treatments.

Beattie wrote home frequently, occasionally confessing to bouts of loneliness. Her letters were sometimes accompanied by film canisters whose contents bore out her passion for photography. Among the snapshots were many showing her smiling brightly in the snow against a brilliant blue sky. She also kept in touch with her “physio” colleagues, who saw her as a pioneer of the growing specialty.

Beattie spent much of her spare time with Rita and Ken Koehler, who had been posted to Chesterfield Inlet for Ken's work. She built a close friendship with Rita that provided more of a personal connection with home than was possible with the priests and nuns. In mid-May, she wrote that she expected to be home by the end of August, although, she said, “we can't depend upon transportation up here.”



Top: Constance Beattie, centre, stands with two Inuit boys, George Tanniak and Simeone Yerak, as they prepare to board a RCAF C47 Dakota airplane at Fort Churchill en route to Chesterfield Inlet on April 24, 1949. Also pictured are co-pilot Ollie Philip (left of Beattie), pilot Bert Dole (standing behind the children) and Dr. W.J. Wood (right).

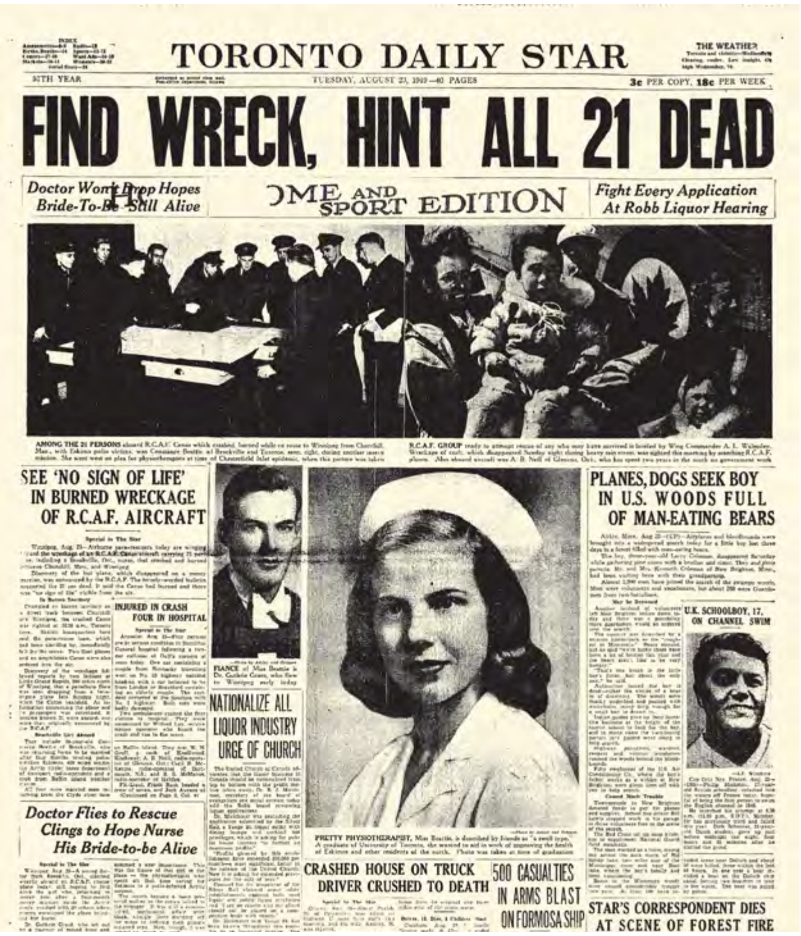
Below: A smiling Beattie with an Inuk man and young child inside a tent, Chesterfield Inlet, between April and August 1949.

CONSTANCE BEATTIE, COURTESY OF HER NEPHEW, CHUCK BEATTIE

After a fairly quiet spring and early summer, Beattie was surprised to learn that she would be leaving two weeks earlier than expected. It was a scramble to be ready on time, and also to say her goodbyes, although she did not tell her parents she was heading home. She'd wait until getting to Winnipeg, “as Mother would worry herself sick.” She was eager to get back; she had plans to marry Dr. Guthrie Grant of Brooklin, Ontario.

The earlier departure was to facilitate the flight plan of the amphibious RCAF Canso aircraft that would transfer several federal transportation department personnel to a remote weather station on Baffin Island before making stops at Chesterfield Inlet and Churchill on August 21 en route back to Winnipeg. Although Beattie had completed her Arctic assignment, and eight polio patients with the most serious symptoms would accompany her on the flight, Moody wrote, “we dreaded having her go back to civilization.”

The plane caused a commotion as it splash-landed on the water of Chesterfield Inlet. Moody's wife, Viola, prepared a



TORONTO DAILY STAR

TUESDAY, AUGUST 23, 1949—40 PAGES

3c PER COPY, 18c PER WEEK

FIND WRECK, HINT ALL 21 DEAD

Doctor Won't Drop Hopes Bride-To-Be Still Alive

OME AND SPORT EDITION

Fight Every Application At Robb Liquor Hearing

SEE 'NO SIGN OF LIFE' IN BURNED WRECKAGE OF R.C.A.F. AIRCRAFT

INJURED IN CRASH FOUR IN HOSPITAL

NATIONALIZE ALL LIQUOR INDUSTRY URGE OF CHURCH

Doctor Flies to Rescue Clings to Hope Nurse His Bride-to-be Alive

PLANES, DOGS SEEK BOY IN U.S. WOODS FULL OF MAN-EATING BEARS

U.K. SCHOOLBOY, 17, ON CHANNEL SWIM

CRASHED HOUSE ON TRUCK DRIVER CRUSHED TO DEATH

500 CASUALTIES IN ARMS BLAST ON FORMOSA SHIP

STAR'S CORRESPONDENT DIES AT SCENE OF FOREST FIRE

The crash of the medical evacuation flight was front-page news for the *Toronto Star*.

TORONTO STAR

farewell dinner of Arctic trout for Beattie and the plane's crew. According to Moody, the evacuation of eight paralyzed Inuit people was a "pitiful sight. Many young men, formerly great hunters, were carried out with arms and legs dangling helplessly."

Moreover, Moody could not help wondering who would take care of their families: "Or, with father dead and son lame, who would hunt the caribou? Who would replace the dead infants with new babies, now that the wife was a helpless cripple?" The remaining Inuit grieved as they watched their friends and family members carried onto the canoe that took them to the plane. Several of the younger patients resisted, until they understood that Beattie would also be going. Everyone finally waved farewell, and, as Moody observed, "Miss Beattie waved back bravely and laughed and called out something about seeing us again."

Connie Beattie's smiling face dominated the front page of the *Toronto Star*'s August 22 edition, but it was placed below an alarming headline: "20 Missing On Mercy Plane: Comb Barren North For Mercy Aircraft; Ontario Girl Aboard." With enough fuel for ten hours, the Canso plane had left Churchill at 6:00 p.m. on August 21 and checked in three hours later with the Hudson Bay station; the last radio contact was at 10:55, shortly after it was to have arrived in Winnipeg.

The report noted that Beattie was looking after seven patients "crippled by polio," although it was later reported as eight. Also on board was a crew of seven, Canadian Press reporter Jack Aveson, who was returning from a northern assignment, and four federal transportation department inspectors on their way home after long duty spells in northern outposts. Like the story of the Arctic polio epidemic itself, news of the missing "mercy flight" spread quickly in the North American press. In hopes that the plane had landed on one of the numerous lakes of northern Manitoba due to some combination of engine trouble and stormy weather, an intensive search effort was launched. Soon there were additional aircraft and a parachute team. The effort included planes from Trenton, Ontario, and even the U.S. army.

Late on August 22, after receiving several reports of parachute flares lighting up the storm-swept area, and a trapper sighting a column of smoke, the search teams found the crash site. Newspapers on August 23 reported the grim news that the Canso had crashed and all twenty-one on board were very likely killed.

The front page of the August 23 *Toronto Star* featured Connie Beattie in her University of Toronto graduation photo, along with a picture of her fiancé, Guthrie Grant. As soon as he heard the plane was missing, Grant had set out on a Trenton-based RCAF search plane for Winnipeg; although by the time he arrived he knew that the Canso had been found with no signs of life.

Nevertheless, he remained hopeful of a miracle and stood vigilant at the search team operations centre, listening to the radio messages that confirmed the team's arrival at the crash scene 438 kilometres northeast of Winnipeg. He was soon able to fly to a lake near the crash site in hopes, he said, that "we might find someone alive, surely …."

While initial reports suggested that the crash site was little more than burned-out wreckage, a *Winnipeg Tribune* reporter's first-hand account described a gruesome scene of the mangled plane and mutilated bodies with minimal signs of fire. His report included photos showing personal effects strewn about the scene, several of which had clearly belonged to Beattie: a pair of high-heeled shoes, women's magazines, a pocket camera that had sprung open exposing its film, and several photographs she had taken.

In contrast to the personal details given about the white victims of the crash, the extensive newspaper coverage said very little about the plane's Inuit passengers, other than to note that their bodies were taken for burial in a single grave near Norway House at the head of Lake Winnipeg. After a difficult recovery effort due to the condition of most of the bodies, the remains of the thirteen white passengers were taken to Winnipeg and ultimately sent home. Grant, along with a cousin of Beattie, claimed her body and took it home to Brockville.

An article in the August 25 edition of the *Toronto Star* seems

POLIO'S TRAGIC LEGACY

The late Mark Kalluak was flown from near Eskimo Point in the District of Keewatin (now Arviat, Nunavut) in 1948 for treatment. He was six years old and would not return to his family until he was ten.

Writing in a 1993 issue of *Inuktitut* magazine, he recalled going from happy and bouncy to drowsy, nauseated, and achy in a matter of hours. "I don't recall ever being so sick as I was then, tossing and turning and crying my heart out." He lost all use of his left arm, and his right arm was partly paralyzed.

NUNAVUT DEPT OF EDUCATION

At the King George Hospital in Winnipeg, he was relieved to meet other Inuit and an interpreter, since he didn't speak any English. Not long after his arrival, he wrote, staff started preparing to receive more medical evacuees from his home area. But they never arrived. They were on the plane that crashed in August 1949.

Confined to bed, he was taken for daily exercises in a futile attempt to rebuild strength in his polio-weakened limbs. "For me, at least, it didn't do the least bit of good, and its only result was to annoy me."

Finally, in the spring of 1952, he flew back to the North and home. "Oh, how truly wonderful it was," he wrote.

Kalluak learned to read and write English during his four years in Winnipeg, and he became a respected translator, teacher, cultural consultant, and author. He was named to the Order of Canada in 1990 and was one of the first recipients of the Order of Nunavut.

Despite the lasting damage to his arms and hands, and the separation from his family and home, he concluded his article, "If I had to live my life over I would not choose another path." — *Nancy Payne*

to have been the only contemporary report to publish the names of the Inuit victims of the crash. The three Inuit girls were identified as Anayasee and Annartosi (both age ten) and Ublureak (fifteen). The men named were Arnalukitar (sixty-five), Akrolayuk (twenty-five), and Ohoto (twenty-seven), and the one woman was identified as Anglalik (twenty-five).

Relatives in the Chesterfield Inlet area were not told of the unmarked mass grave, the exact location of which would not be discovered until a grandson of one of the crash victims tracked it down some sixty years later. At about the same time, Annie Ollie asked a lawyer to help find information on the crash that had killed Ublureak, who was her father's younger sister. The names of the other Inuit killed in the crash were not again published until a series of articles by Catherine Mitchell appeared in the *Winnipeg Free Press* in 2009. The double tragedy of polio and the crash affected one family especially hard: Hilarie Arnaluktituaq, her son-in-law John Agajaaluk, and granddaughters Agnes Kappi and Elizabeth Annaqtusi all died.

In December 2007, Ollie and another crash victim's relative visited the gravesite near Norway House and met several local residents who remembered what had happened. As soon as they had learned of the crash, members of the First Nations community had flown to the crash site to help with the recovery of the Inuit remains. After prayers were recited, the remains were laid so that their faces were looking to the east and the sunrise, a Norway House tradition.

Connie Beattie's personal story of service in response to the Arctic polio tragedy, coupled with her own shocking death, played out prominently in the Canadian media. Her death hit her fellow physiotherapists especially hard. Indeed, as a report in the September 1949 issue of the *Journal of the Canadian Physiotherapy Association* noted, "she had served where no physio had served before." Her legacy has lived on, most notably with the establishment of the Canadian Physiotherapy Association's Constance Beattie Memorial Fund bursary program. The fund was designed to support post-graduate training in physiotherapy, originally with preference for work in the treatment of polio.

Fundraising dances at the University of Toronto, organized by physiotherapy students, and concerts at Massey Hall helped to launch the fund; the bursary program continues to this day. The Rotary Club in Brockville led the construction of an arts and crafts building at Merrywood of the Rideau, a camp for children with disabilities located near Perth, Ontario. With most of the children using the new building having been affected by polio, a local newspaper report noted, "it is indeed fitting that this addition be a memorial to 'Connie' who gave her life to treat polio-infected Eskimos."

The Arctic polio epidemic and its aftermath weighed heavily on the Inuit of the District of Keewatin, who would refuse all medical evacuations for a long time. As Moody put it, this great disaster pursued them "like a nemesis. By direct action, it had crippled a race. Indirectly, it had been responsible for a plane crash that added another blow to the thinning of the ranks of the coastal and Caribou (Inuit)."

However, amidst all the tragedy surrounding this unique epidemic, much of scientific significance was learned about the epidemiology of polio, and especially about its immunology. This knowledge would ultimately prove valuable to the development of polio vaccines and to the near-extinction of the disease known as "the crippler."

ISTOCK

RADIO QUEENS

WHEN RADIO WAS AS HOT AS SOCIAL MEDIA IS TODAY, CERTAIN FEMALE BROADCASTERS HAD TREMENDOUS STAR POWER.

BY NELLE OOSTEROM AND GARRY MOIR

BACK IN THE EARLY 1920S, when commercial radio was still an experiment, anything seemed possible. There were even some women who, perhaps because they had gained the vote and had tasted independence through wartime employment, saw an opportunity in this exciting new field.

Jane Gray — a divorced war bride from England with three children to support — apparently had no qualms about walking into newly licensed radio station CJGC in London, Ontario, in 1924 and pitching for a job. She was hired on the strength of her ability to read poetry and to dish out advice to listeners. However, the job paid a pittance, and after a few years she moved to Toronto, where she hit the big time.

Nor was Gray the only one. A substantial number of Canadian women skyrocketed to sudden radio fame in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. Few remember their names today.

Among those who have faded from public memory is Lilian Shaw. Shaw was eighteen years old and fresh out of business college when she landed work with CKY Winnipeg in 1923. The station was owned and operated by the Manitoba government through the Manitoba Telephone System, and what got her the job was her ability to play the piano. In those pioneering days of early radio, most programming was live, and many of the entertainers required accompaniment. Having someone who could answer the telephone, type, manage the office, and play the piano would have been an invaluable asset to any early radio station.

The decision to put Shaw on the air as a staff announcer was largely a function of necessity. CKY manager Darby Coats had to keep the station going an hour and a quarter each day and needed to fill two hours of evening programming three times a week. There was also a Sunday church broadcast. Resources were scarce, as Manitoba Premier John Bracken had made it clear that he expected the government-owned radio station at least to break even.

ANOTHER CHALLENGE WAS "THE TIRING JOB OF PERPETUALLY WINDING THE PHONOGRAPH. SOMETIMES WE WOULD FORGET TO WIND IT AND IT WOULD RUN DOWN IN THE MIDDLE OF A NUMBER." – LILIAN SHAW

Coats obviously needed some assistance. With the only other CKY employee being a technician, Shaw was the lone person available to help. Shaw herself credited Coats with some forward thinking. "He thought it would be a novel idea to have a lady's voice" on the air, she said in a CBC Radio interview at the time of her retirement in 1971.

Shaw read the news, provided grain and livestock reports, introduced recordings, accompanied other entertainers on the piano, and even handled technical duties. In a 1938 interview published in *Manitoba Calling*, a magazine published by the Manitoba Telephone System, she admitted that her strongest memory was "the nervousness I felt at the prospect of having to announce at the microphone." She admittedly found reading the farm markets a "dull" chore.

Another challenge was "the tiring job of perpetually winding the phonograph. Sometimes we would forget to wind it and it would run down in the middle of a number."

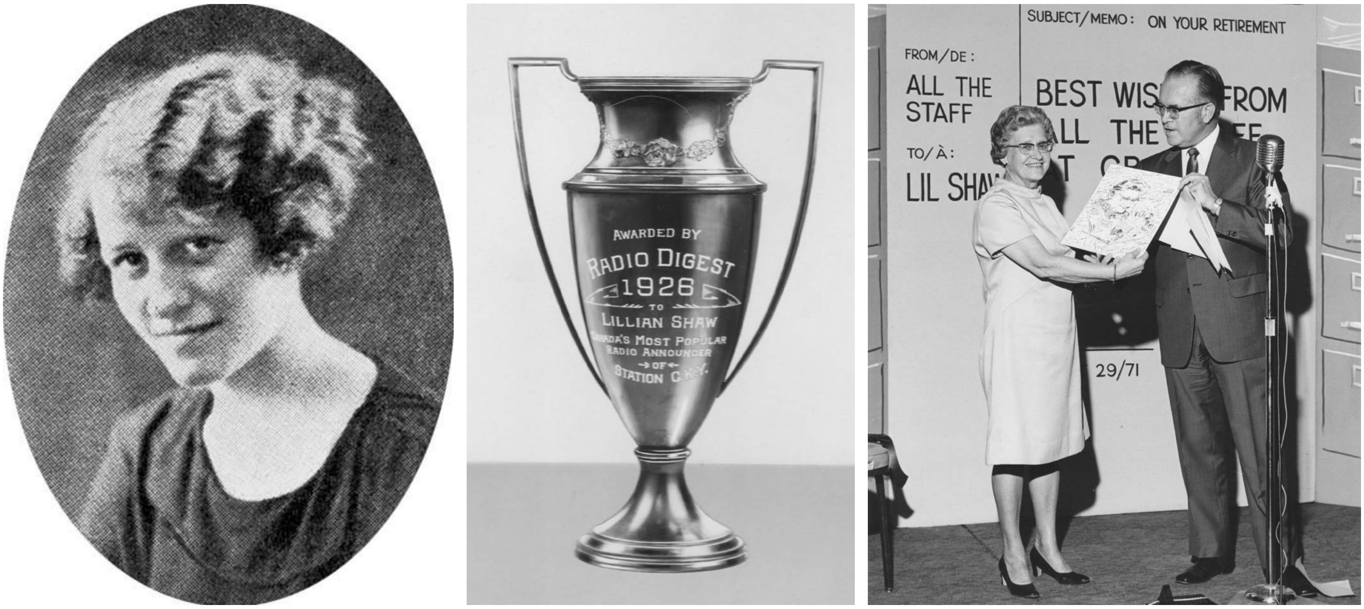
Programming was nothing if not eclectic. Church services and jazz shows proved popular. Talks by Manitoba Agriculture College professors on topics like wheat rust may have been hits in the country but did not appeal to city listeners.

Entertainers were expected to work without pay. Sound effects were created live in the studio. "Artists arrived when they could (sometimes they didn't)" is the way programming was described by *Manitoba Calling*. Performers would whisper the titles of their numbers to the announcer when someone else was performing at the microphone. "If the program ran an hour or so overtime it did not matter."

Coats recalled how Shaw helped to physically remove from the studio a drunken woman who had showed up to sing. The singer's morning audition was "excellent," but when she arrived for her performance in the afternoon she "stood somewhat unsteadily by the piano and insisted upon hiccoughing 'Star of Eve' until she could be persuaded to leave quietly."

As to whether listeners had reservations about a female voice on the radio, Shaw recalled twenty-five years later that her reception was "very favourable most of the time. I made wonderful friends amongst the listeners. Over the years they got used to my voice just like anyone else's." In fact, Shaw was quite popular.

In 1926, a widely circulated Chicago-based publication called *Radio Digest* ran an annual contest allowing listeners to vote on the most popular announcers in the United States and Canada.



From left to right, Lilian Shaw, circa 1920s; Trophy won by Shaw for being the most popular radio broadcaster (Shaw's name is frequently misspelled. She herself signed it Lilian); Shaw accepts a gift at her retirement celebration in 1971.

COURTESY OF GARRY MOIR

Coats nominated "Lilian Shaw of CKY Winnipeg, the finest little radio announcer in the dominion."

Shaw ran away with the race. Voting took place over a five-month period, and by September she was declared Canada's most popular radio announcer, garnering more than eighteen thousand votes. Worth noting is that all seven of her Canadian rivals were men. Of the top fifty American announcers, there was not one woman. In announcing Shaw's victory, *Radio Digest* described her as "the preferred blond of slight build."

Shaw was just twenty at the time. Over her career she would witness enormous change in the broadcasting industry, in terms of both technology and programming. The station grew, and she eventually stepped away from the microphone to become the assistant to the general manager. "It's doubtful if a lady in Canada is better acquainted with that business of broadcasting than Miss Shaw," *Manitoba Calling* declared in 1938.

Unfortunately, her rise in the business stalled after the Manitoba government station was sold to the CBC in 1948. Never again would she wield the kind of influence she had at CKY.

"She was in line for a big promotion," recalled niece Maureen Gardner in an interview. "When the time came she did not receive the position because it was awarded to a gentleman. She was very upset. She was very aware of the fight for women's rights." Shaw retired in 1971, after a broadcasting career that spanned forty-eight years.

A postcard image of Jane Gray broadcasting in 1936.

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Private broadcasting was ahead of its time in providing women with on-air jobs, observed T.J. Allard, a former executive with the Canadian Association of Broadcasters in his 1979 book *Straight Up: Private Broadcasting in Canada, 1918–1958.* In the early days, "Few stations did not have one or more women's commentators who quite literally ran their own show," he wrote.

In Toronto, several women got their start at radio station CFRB in the 1920s and 1930s. One of them was Jane Gray, who had left her poetry broadcasting job in London to try her luck in Toronto. She was among ninety applicants for a position as host of a cooking program on CFRB. She got the job, at a salary of twenty-five dollars a week. Gray soon hit upon a way to increase her earnings by paying for airtime and then selling commercials on the shows she hosted. Since her programs were popular, she quickly made a profit.

In 1928, she founded the Jane Gray Players, an acting troupe that performed radio dramas such as mystery plays. Not only did she write, produce, and act in her plays, she also ran a drama school on Saturdays.

Ever resourceful, Gray began pitching miracle elixirs and patent medicines during the Depression. One popular product, called Mus-Kee-Kee, was a mix of Seneca root, pine needles, and alcohol. "Along with the tonic, she'd hand out doses of advice, horoscope readings and forecasts based on numerology," her 1984 *Toronto Star* obituary said. Marketing herself as the "Wise Little Lady of the Air," she toured radio stations across Canada, offering audiences advice on every topic, from family tragedies to illnesses and financial difficulties

"I'm not a fanatic, and I am not a fortune teller," she said in a 1967 interview. "But I do know there are cycles in nature. The farmer knows when to hire men, and he's no fortune teller. There are cycles in people that affect their lives."

She became a television host for CHCH-TV in Hamilton in 1953 and was still broadcasting well into the 1960s. According to the Canadian Communications Foundation, "Jane Gray was a 'born show-woman.' As she has been quoted — 'I've done it all.'" In 1988, she became the first woman radio performer to be inducted into the Canadian Broadcast Hall of Fame.

Another CFRB hire was Kate Aitken — commonly known as Mrs. A. She was probably the most accomplished Canadian female broadcaster of her time and attained a world-class profile. Her radio career began in 1934 when CFRB asked her to fill in for another announcer who had suffered a broken leg.

At forty-three years of age, Aitken already had a high profile as a government-sponsored lecturer who provided lessons on cooking and other domestic skills during the Depression. She honed her skills running a successful chicken farm with her husband and operating a thriving home canning business. By 1927 she was the women's director for the Canadian National Exhibition and a delegate to a world wheat conference. The latter led to a meeting with Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, whom she persuaded to buy wheat from Canada.

CFRB syndicated her show — which was later picked up by CBC Radio — and she travelled Canada and the world to report on cooking and etiquette as well as much weightier topics. Aitken interviewed many of the famous — and infamous — of her time, such as Adolf Hitler, King George VI, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Pope Pius XII. During the Second World War, her famous Make Over and Make Do workshops taught women to budget and to conserve materials that were in short supply.

CD 445
KATE AITKEN'S
Canadian
COOK BOOK
Cooking Editor of The Montreal Standard
35¢
special
A WHITE CIRCLE POCKET EDITION
CFRB

Top Left: The cover of *Kate Aitken's Canadian Cook Book*. Top Right: Kate Aitken with a chicken. Bottom: Kate Aitken speaks with a boy during a radio broadcast.

MUSEUM ON THE BOYNE

"Kate held the nation's women to attention with her calm radio manner and compassionate nature," Ontario author Pat Mestern wrote. "While bombs were falling in Europe, Kate's counsel that 'it looks bad at the moment, but it cannot help but get better' gave relief to worried mothers and wives."

Her travels took her to Europe in the immediate aftermath of the war as well as to the battlefields of Korea in 1952. She was in Kenya during an uprising in the 1950s, in Hungary during the 1956 revolution, and toured famine-stricken regions of India.

Among Aitken's sponsors were the British Ministry of Food and the International Tea Bureau. The two groups arranged for her to stay with local families. When asked in 1949 why she embarked on these travels, Aitken replied in her warm voice: "I believe, and I've always believed, that women have more power than men, more power to shape public opinion, and if women believe in anything intensely, and go out and do it, they can revolutionize the world."

According to the Canadian Communications Foundation, Aitken attracted up to three million listeners in the 1940s and 1950s, making her Canada's most popular broadcaster of the time. At her peak, she received as many as a thousand letters a day, necessitating the hiring of more than twenty secretaries just to answer her mail. She resigned from radio in 1955 to concentrate on writing her many books. *Kate Aitken's Canadian Cook Book* remains a classic.

"Kate Aitken was curious, energetic, and always professional," wrote Jerry Fairbridge of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters. "She said she just hopped from job to job like a grasshopper having a good time. She advised people to try new things, to treat them as an adventure, and, if they failed, to try again."

IN 1946 CLAIRE WALLACE RECEIVED THE BEAVER AWARD FROM *BROADCASTER MAGAZINE* AS CANADA'S TOP WOMAN COMMENTATOR.

Like Aitken, Claire Wallace got her start with Toronto radio station CFRB in the 1930s. Being divorced, and with a son to support during the Great Depression, Wallace needed the work. Her evening show, *Teatime Topics*, was a spinoff of a column she wrote for the *Toronto Star*. She joined CBC Radio in 1936, and by 1942 she was hosting *They Tell Me*, a program that was successful in promoting sales of war bonds and savings stamps.

As the host of *They Tell Me*, she became one of Canada's highest paid broadcasters, earning $170 a week. When the National Radio Committee recommended her for a raise due to her heavy workload, there was a huge backlash from newspapermen, many of whom earned only $40 or $50 a week. "The paying of so much public money to any female artist of the airways suggests 'pull' and favoritism," said one editorial. According to Marjorie Lang, author of *Women Who Made the News*, the controversy led the "timorous National War Finance Committee" to shut down her program in June 1944.

Wallace's journalistic career continued, however. In 1946 she received the Beaver Award from *Broadcaster Magazine* as Canada's top woman commentator. She eventually returned to CFRB. Wallace was a daredevil who took risks to bring her listeners exciting stories, once climbing into a Mexican volcano. She later wrote books and started a travel bureau, taking visitors behind the Iron Curtain at the height of the Cold War.

Writing about her great-aunt Claire Wallace on her blog, Jeanie MacFarlane of Hamilton said: "Claire stressed modesty, discipline, and planning. She was formidable in person and yet, a CBC colleague of hers once told me, she trembled a bit as she fought through mic fright at the start of every broadcast."

French Canada had its own female radio stars, and few shone as brightly as Michelle Tisseyre of Montreal. When her husband went overseas to fight in the Second World War, the mother of one applied for a job with Radio-Canada, the French-language arm of the national public broadcaster.

Top Left: Claire Wallace interviews Herbert Anungazuk, Toby Anungazuk, Martha Anungazuk, and Nellie Anungazuk. The family lived in Wales, Alaska, the northernmost village in North America. Top Right: Martha Bowes. Bottom Right: Michelle Tisseyre on her radio debut at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

CBC STILL PHOTO COLLECTION, PH-98-103-5, COURTESY OF SASKATOON PUBLIC LIBRARY, LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA

She became an announcer in 1941 and was soon anchoring the *Grand Journal* newscast, making her the first woman to present a radio newscast for CBC French services.

Tisseyre worked for Radio-Canada's international service from 1944 to 1946, specializing in interviews and reporting. She also co-hosted, with René Lévesque and René Garneau, *La voix du Canada*, a show broadcast to French-Canadian troops overseas. By 1953, she had made the switch to television, becoming the host of Canada's first television talk show — *Rendez-vous avec Michelle* — which was on the air for nine years.

She also welcomed some of the most famous musicians of the era when she hosted the popular Quebec variety show *Music-Hall* from 1955 to 1960. The multi-talented Tisseyre also performed in theatre, translated classic Canadian novels from English into French, edited *L'Encyclopédie de la femme canadienne* (Encyclopedia of Canadian women), wrote for various publications, and won many awards.

"I only knew the good side of being a woman on TV and on the radio," she said in a 2002 interview with the French-language newspaper *Le Devoir*. "On the radio I was exclusively surrounded by men, and they were always very kind to me, almost protective even, among other things because I had a toddler and my husband had gone to war. On TV, I never experienced any problems because I was a woman. It must be said that there was much less competition than today. I was the only one. In fact, I was spoiled by fate, and I loved my career." Tisseyre died in 2014 at the age of ninety-six.

Not all of the pioneering women of radio enjoyed long careers. Some, like Martha Bowes of CJWC in Saskatoon, spent only a few years in the business — but long enough to make history. At age twenty-two, Bowes left her job as a trained nurse to work as a secretary for Wheaton Electric, the owner of CJWC. In 1922, she became Saskatchewan's first female radio announcer.

In her 2012 book, *Radio Ladies: Canada's Women on the Air 1922–1975*, Peggy Stewart described Bowes' workload. A typical day began at eight o'clock in the morning with a couple of hours of local news, weather, music, and event announcements. After a few hours off, she returned with the noon-hour news, followed by a program on local events and personalities. During the supper hour, she co-hosted a religious show with a local priest. She worked into the evening three nights a week, hosting a talent show and a musical show with performers who worked for free.

Sometimes Bowes did remote broadcasts from Saskatoon's Zenith Café or Hudson's Bay Company department store. By 1928, she apparently had had enough. She was by then Mrs. Earl Ward and had moved with her husband to Detroit, then to Whitby, Ontario. She never resumed her radio career.

It has been almost a century since the first radio station in Canada — XWA, short for experimental wireless apparatus — was licensed to broadcast commercially in Montreal in 1919. As we scan the hundreds of stations available to us today, with their many formats, it's worth remembering that it all started out pretty simply. As they do now, women broadcasters have long played a major role in radio's popularity.

WAR CORRESPONDENCE

THE GOLDBERG BROTHERS' LETTERS HOME SHINE A LIGHT ON THE DEVASTATION CANADIAN FAMILIES SUFFERED DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

BY JEFF KESHEN

MAY 8, 1945, **WAS A DAY OF THANKSGIVING AND CELEBRATION. OVER THE SIX LONG YEARS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR, CANADA ENDURED MORE THAN FORTY-TWO THOUSAND WAR DEAD. AS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR, THE CONFLICT SPARKED DIVISIONS ALONG THE COUNTRY'S FRENCH-ENGLISH AXIS OVER CONSCRIPTION. THIS SCHISM WAS KEENLY FELT IN MONTREAL, BUT ON VE DAY "THE CITY'S MILLIONS POURED FROM OFFICES, STORES, FACTORIES AND HOMES ... IN A RIOTOUS CELEBRATION," ACCORDING TO THE *MONTREAL GAZETTE*.**

At 5164 Durocher Street, however, the mood at the Goldberg residence was sombre. Eleven days earlier, Corporal Harry Goldberg had been killed in action, the second from the household to lose his life in the war. In 1941, his older brother Louis, known to all as Curly for his shiny, wavy hair, had perished in an air-training accident.

Like most Jews of that period, the Goldbergs were relatively recent migrants to Canada. Bertha, the family's Yiddish-speaking mother, and her late husband, Joseph, arrived in Montreal in 1907 fleeing deadly anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukrainian community of Zhytomyr.

Curly and Harry wrote hundreds of letters to their married sister Sara during the war. (None of her correspondence to them survives, a situation that is common because personnel rarely had means to keep letters.) Sara, whom the family saw as the matriarch, took care of her mother, including by excising upsetting passages as she read aloud the letters from overseas.

After the war's end, she locked the correspondence away in a valise; the letters were not rediscovered until after her death in 1990. Shyrna Goldberg, the wife of younger brother Rubin, never knew Harry and Curly but transcribed the correspondence as a retirement project.

Scholars often approach wartime letters with skepticism. Letter writers knew that military censors read their correspondence to remove details such as troop location, movements, plans, and strength. And, of course military men and women self-censored to avoid worrying loved ones.

Nevertheless, the Goldberg letters offer a unique glance into the brothers' wartime experiences. Harry and Curly sent upbeat accounts but also wrote about faith, hatred, romance, death, and the importance of correspondence to their emotional and psychological well-being.

Sergeant Louis "Curly" Goldberg.

PHOTO COURTESY OF REBECCA BERLIN

The first letters came from Curly. Writing in July of 1940 from the Royal Canadian Air Force training depot in Toronto, he told Sara of receiving his uniform and vaccinations and having his teeth examined. He assured her the food was "pretty good" and the fellows he met, though "swearing filthily," were "very nice."

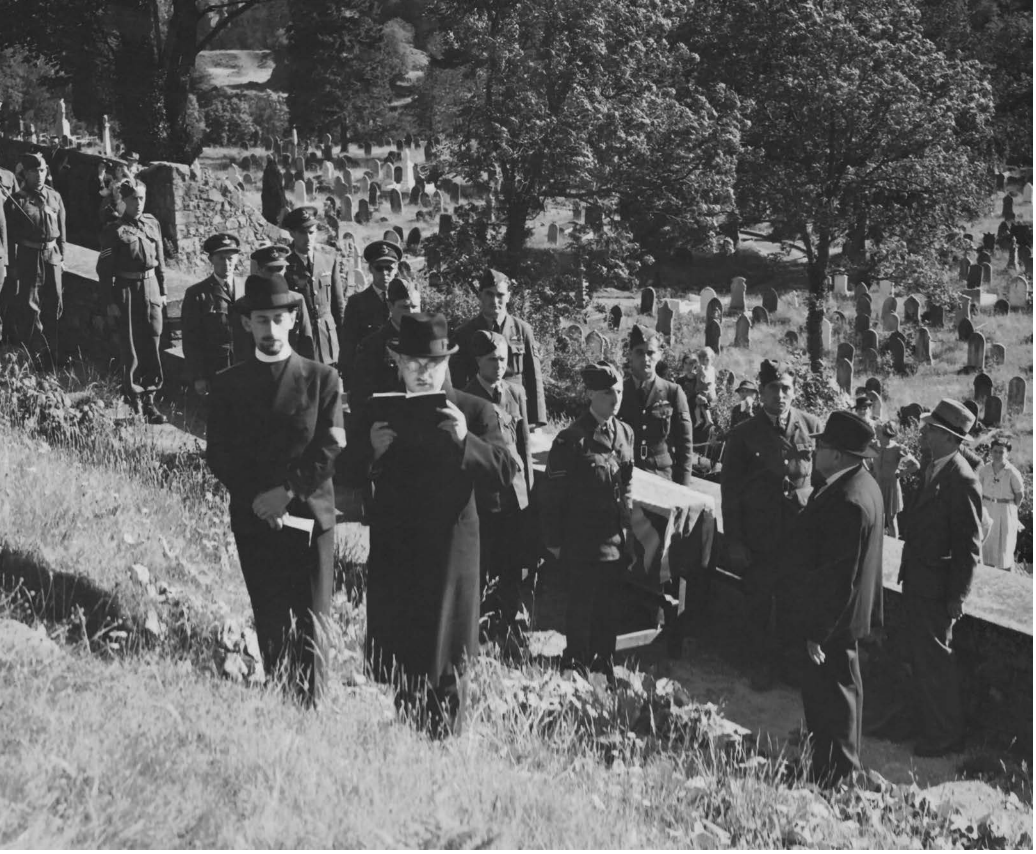
Later that month, he transferred to a training centre in nearby Scarborough, Ontario. Noting he was the only Jew, he added, "the boys really like me and are very friendly."

Curly was one of many Jews who felt an urgency to enlist. Determined to counteract the idea that Jews had not pulled their weight in the First World War, the Canadian Jewish Congress encouraged Jewish men to volunteer for military service and urged other Jews to financially support war drives. According to the CJC, 16,411 Jewish men and 279 Jewish women served in Canada's military during the Second World War.

Still, as Gerald Tulchinsky writes in *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey*, many Jews whose families had fled Europe felt no attachment to their ancestral home, including to Jews there. Some worried about mixing with Gentiles in the military or feared being captured by the Nazis. Many felt no loyalty to Britain or to Canada, where anti-Semitism was strong. Military tradition was alien to many Jews; in Russia and the Ukraine the military was viewed as a source of repression.

Curly wrote to Sara, "You see, ever since the war started I wanted to get into it but thinking of Mother stopped me." He added, "I did not put on a uniform because of my love of England" but rather because of "enemy cruelty and discrimination against our people."

In September 1940, Curly was assigned



Curly's funeral, Merthyr Tydfil, Wales. The ceremony included two Spitfires performing an honour flyby. One of the pilots was killed a week later in France.

PHOTO COURTESY OF REBECCA BERLIN

to a British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Initial Flying Training School near Thunder Bay, Ontario. Within a month he had soloed and shown proficiency in "climbing, stalling, gliding, slow turns, steep turns and landing." While bragging to Sara, he assured his mother, "I am being very careful when I fly." Although he hated being away from home during the Jewish high holidays, he received some forty dinner invitations from members of the local Jewish community.

In early 1941, he relocated to Ottawa for advanced training. After twenty weeks he proudly wrote of being promoted to sergeant pilot and becoming the first Jew to get his wings; the second, he said, earned them three days later.

In February he was on a White Star liner bound for England. He was initially stationed in the town of Ramsay, south of Peterborough. With the air war still going strong, and its outcome in doubt, he was upset about having to wait at least six months before seeing action.

Subsequent letters sound like they came from a tourist, describing visits to popular spots in London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. He also mentioned going to a dance where he met a "nice little blond." He added that she was Jewish, though he did not suggest a romantic relationship.

With Passover approaching in April, Curly pined for home. He asked for family photos and items such as a Jewish *vurst* (salami). In London, which he called "the Big Town," he met a "nice girl … single and KOSHER."

While saying he had plenty of opportunities to date British women, he insisted there was "no fooling around for me."

By mid-June he was training in a Supermarine Spitfire with the Royal Air Force's Operational Training Unit 53 in Middlesex, England, flying exercises over Wales. On July 7, he was flying alongside Sergeant Gerald Fenwick Manuel of Halifax, just north of Cardiff, by the coal mining community of Merthyr Tydfil. The two planes veered close, locked wings, and went into an uncontrollable spin. Curly crashed into a field, while the other plane smashed into a house. Both pilots died as did the occupants of the house: a woman named Doreen Cox and her two young daughters.

The Goldbergs learned of the tragedy by telegram.

Sara is quoted in the *Montreal Gazette*, saying: "Louis was one of those who really believed in what he was doing over there."

The pilots were buried on July 9, Curly in the Jewish cemetery among some five hundred gravesites stretching back to the 1860s. On behalf of the Merthyr Tydfil Hebrew Congregation and the Jewish Burial Board, an A. Moscovitch wrote Bertha, saying, "your son died a very brave and honourable death." He also sent photographs "so that you could have … some idea of the respect shown to your dear son."

In August 1940, Harry's first letters started arriving. Writing from Camp Farnham, an infantry training facility in Quebec's Eastern Townships, he expressed excitement over being given responsibility for all-night sentry duty.

He was soon relocated to the Chateauguay Barracks in Huntingdon, Quebec. His letters remained brief, typically describing training routines and his hope to move on to the fighting overseas. He also mentioned a young woman who "took a fancy" to him, but he insisted he remained loyal to Lillian, his girlfriend in Montreal whom he planned to marry after the war.

In late April, Harry was on his way to Debert, Nova Scotia, for training in armoured reconnaissance — the use of armed vehicles and tanks to gather information about the enemy. He proudly informed Sara that "it is the most dangerous job," but he asked her not "to say anything about it to Ma."

He described the increasingly tough regimen: "We have to get up each morning at 4.30 and lights out at 10 o'clock for about 8 weeks." He was not impressed to learn that a mutual acquaintance to whom he had written informed Sara that he regretted enlisting. "I am perfectly happy here, so please change whatever ideas Bernie has put into your head."

Harry's next letter provided a fuller explanation of his frustrations. While saying he was "dam proud to be in the service," he claimed that "3/4 of the men" with whom he trained "are Jew haters." He also claimed that too many Jewish recruits "swing the lead," meaning they shirked their duties.

Although Harry offered no evidence for his assertion, he told Sara about a Jewish sergeant who often asked him if things were okay; of the five Jews with whom the sergeant enlisted, all had sought a discharge. "God dam Sara on Sunday afternoon or Friday night there should not be one Jewish boy walking along Park Avenue [a thoroughfare in Montreal's Jewish district]," the letter raged.

Learning of Curly's death, Harry insisted that they all should "thank God [he] was killed and not the other thing," meaning he neither evaded his duty to fight nor was taken prisoner. He acknowledged, "it is very hard for you and Mom to take it on the chin that Curly is gone," but he emphasized that they were not alone. "Curly was one of the many to give his life," he wrote, and the "sooner you and Mom realize that … it will be easier on everyone."

On August 8, Harry sent a telegram to say he would be coming home on a six-day furlough. But, almost immediately after returning to Nova Scotia, he was sent back overseas as part of Canada's Third Division. He appeared to give Lillian permission to move on, writing en route to Britain: "Go out as much as you can … for I may be gone for a very long time and I think it is too much to ask any girl to wait that long." To his sister Sara, though, he wrote that throughout the "whole trip [overseas] I was thinking of … what sort of wedding we could have."

Harry, too, spent time in England seeing the sights; one letter described riding on the upper level of double-decker buses. He also promised to visit Curly's grave, where Jewish leaders had invited him to provide instructions on a tombstone.

Although he wrote optimistically about soon joining the fray, like many Canadian soldiers Harry remained in England for years. Spare time was often spent pursuing women such as one Private Dorothy Hewitt, who drove trucks for the British Army. "We are going strolling in the park and it is fun for it is pitch dark for it is blackout all the time." He insisted theirs was a platonic relationship and hoped that Lillian wouldn't mind, avowing, "none of the girls here can come near her." A letter the next month, however, profusely apologized for forgetting Lillian's birthday.

Over the Jewish high holidays Harry received leave to attend synagogue and to visit with Jewish families. He wrote to Sara that "in the afternoon of Yom Kippur I met a very nice Jewish girl on Trafalgar Square" whom he described as "nineteen years old and very pretty."

As the year drew to an end, he reiterated his eagerness to get into battle and reproached the many at home whom he believed were not pulling their weight, such as an acquaintance in Montreal who insisted on receiving a commission as an officer for enlisting.

"Curly had every chance in the world to get his commission, but that meant nothing to him for he wanted to do something for our race and family," he wrote angrily. Harry lashed out about rumours he had heard that some Canadian troops were heading back home, and he once again focused on Jews, charging that "the trouble with most … [is] they are all looking for easy jobs."

When it came to his younger brother Rubin, who had reached military age, Harry's tone softened. "Let him try and get into college if he can. Then … let him take a crack at the COTC [Canadian Officer Training Corps]." Rubin soon enlisted in the Army, though with Curly's death and with Harry overseas he was kept in Quebec throughout the war for compassionate reasons.

In the midst of his elation over being promoted to lance corporal, Harry learned that Lillian had fallen for someone else. "I feel so disgusted about it all now that I feel like going out and getting drunk." He proceeded to burn her letter, all the while insisting, "I am no kid and I don't take anything to heart."

AS THE YEAR DREW TO AN END, HARRY REITERATED HIS EAGERNESS TO GET INTO BATTLE AND REPROACHED THE MANY AT HOME WHOM HE BELIEVED WERE NOT PULLING THEIR WEIGHT.

Around the one-year anniversary of Curly's death, Harry finally went to Wales, where the Moscovitch family hosted him. He lobbied his family to send money for a headstone, arguing that to wait until the war ended was to ignore the lesson taught by their late father "not to put anything off."

Mr. Moscovitch was advising the opposite because marble, typically imported from Italy, was unavailable. Local stone was expensive and not as durable. But Harry persisted. "If Mom can't afford it, what's the matter with the rest of the family," he wrote. "Did Curly mean so little to you all?" Despite the financial strain, the family sent fifty-six pounds (worth roughly $4,000 today). Harry promised to return to Wales as soon as possible, partly because during his sojourn there he met a girl who, he said, "made my head spin."

It didn't take long for her impact to wear off. "It seems that every nice girl I meet, I fall in love with, but only until I meet the next one," he wrote a week later. And indeed there was someone else soon. "I feel like shouting it to the rooftops. She is beautiful and young," Jewish, and "filthy rich," which brought problems before long; Harry thought she considered herself better than anyone else. "So again I am a free man," he wrote, "but already have my teeth" in a woman named Rosalind, whom he described as "twice as beautiful."

Despite his letters to the family about Curly's tombstone, in early 1943 Harry announced that he would not be going

Lance Corporal Harry Goldberg.

PHOTO COURTESY OF REBECCA BERLIN

to Wales for its unveiling. With the ground war intensifying in North Africa and an Allied invasion of Europe anticipated, he figured he would have only one more leave before heading into combat and was set on having fun in Manchester, the closest major city.

Responding to angry words from Sara, he said, "Curly's dead, the stone is there and I can't see where it would help any for me to go." He spoke in prosaic terms of a new awareness of life's precariousness, after a German bombing raid on the base where he was stationed killed two friends. "I almost crapped my pants." He had also met a girl from Manchester for whom he had left Rosalind. Her name was Gwen, and he told Sara that she "would have been a good partner for me had she been Jewish ... [so] you needn't worry."

In late April, Harry dropped a bombshell, telling Sara that he and Gwen were engaged. He pleaded for acceptance, since Gwen had declared her intention to convert to Judaism. He also wrote that, after nearly two years in England, "I'm more English than Canadian now."

Sara was immovable. Unwilling to split the family, Harry broke off the relationship, writing to his sister that Gwen was the "finest person I have ever met outside of my family and I was very hurt at your letters." A few weeks later, though, he said that, "as far as women are concerned, it is love em and leave em."

Harry's attention shifted back to the war. "The news from Sicily is good," he wrote in late July 1943. Although he remained in England, after the invasion he expressed the hope that he would "be in there all the way." In September, Canadian forces joined the Allies in crossing the Strait of Messina into Italy for what became a gruelling eighteen-month campaign. Preparing himself for the danger to come, Harry asked Sara "to cable a certain little Irish girl over here," who was named Aimee, should anything happen to him.

As autumn wore on, however, Harry was still in England, and some of his correspondence suggests that he was frequenting pubs too often. "You may get the impression that I have become a boozer or something," he wrote. "The English conception of an evening out means a dance, a movie and then the local pub for a brown ale or a bitter." He admitted being called before an official inquiry after crashing a truck, but he was exonerated of any wrongdoing.

In early 1944, Harry sprung another surprise on Sara about his relationship with Aimee. "I can't put it off any longer ... I am applying for my papers for permission to marry." A week later, he reconsidered, saying, "I was a little hasty in my letter. I will get married but not right away." In early April, he visited Aimee for what he believed would be his last leave, with an invasion of northwest Europe apparently imminent.

On June 13, 1944, he reported "I am in France. It's very exciting." He asked Sara to "try to stop Mom from worrying." His correspondence downplayed the dangers, claiming that "cannon fire and barrages don't bother me at all." He told Sara, "last week I buried two dead jerries"; the fact that they looked "younger than 18 showed that Hitler must be desperate."

In early July, a sniper shot Harry in the thigh. He admitted that he was happy to get out of the foxholes but stressed his intent to return to action. In October, he joined the battle to clear the Scheldt Estuary in northern Belgium to provide the Allies with sea access to Antwerp, a campaign that resulted in nearly 6,400 Canadian casualties. Realizing that he might not survive, and seeking to make things right, he asked Sara to send Lillian a birthday card because he did not "want to hold anything against anyone." In sharp contrast to this sentimentality, he also described removing items such as wristwatches from German corpses.

In late December, Harry was again pulled from action, this time because of jaundice. Sara pleaded with him to apply for home leave, given that he met the conditions of long service and had twice been wounded. He admitted, "if I were to go home now, I would be the happiest man on the earth ... [but] there would still persist in … my heart that I left the boys in the middle of something terrible and it would hurt."

He eventually joined the Canadian advance into the Netherlands, which faced fierce German resistance. He admitted that things were intense and described having a bullet graze his arm. He also wrote of being "pinned down in a field by a German sniper."

On April 26, as the *Montreal Gazette* reported British plans for victory celebrations in London, Harry, then a corporal, was killed near the town of Leer, Germany, just across the border from the Netherlands. His commanding officer wrote that Harry encountered heavy enemy fire while conducting a patrol. From Harry's position ahead of the others, he ordered his men back.

According to the brothers' nephew Jerry (who was a child during the war), some family members wondered if there was more to the story, given that the letter also mentioned how "later reports from civilians … told that he had been wounded and taken prisoner," adding, "we found his grave on the outskirts of the town."

His family was told it would take at least a year for Harry's

Dutch citizens celebrate after the Canadian army liberates Utrecht on May 7, 1945.

remains to be relocated to a permanent military cemetery. Before that could happen, though, Bertha died in July 1946. The family placed two small memorial stones by her grave to honour her fallen sons.

Harry was buried at the Holten Canadian Military Cemetery in northern Netherlands, along with 1,350 comrades, nearly all of them dying "during the last stages of the war in Holland and the advance … into northern Germany," according to a letter Rubin received from the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Curly is one of 113 Canadians whose bodies were buried among thirty different graveyards in Wales.

The discovery of the letters from Curly and Harry unlocked an important part of the Goldbergs' family history. "All of a sudden, these two boys, dead for half a century, came to life," recalled their niece Rebecca, who later became the letters' custodian.

In 1970, Curly and Harry's younger brother Rubin and his wife, Shyrna, visited both graves while touring Europe. Their visit to Curly's burial site in Wales almost ended in failure.

To reach Merthyr Tydfil, they took a train from London to Cardiff, then another to the village, leaving them about three hours at the cemetery.

Rubin had arranged to meet a Mr. Black to take them to the gravesite, but he was not there.

The Goldbergs tracked down his wife, who gave them the key to the cemetery gate.

The local taxis were all busy, so the Goldbergs took a bus whose last stop was the cemetery.

With just an hour left, they confronted hundreds of graves stretching up a hillside, with no indication of where the Jewish section was located. Rubin desperately called out to a man working on a tombstone. "We're looking for a sergeant pilot's grave in the Jewish cemetery ... [who] crashed ... in 1941 near here."

"Do you mean Curly?" the man replied. Stunned, Rubin said later that it was "just as though the heavens had opened up." He scurried up the hill to meet the man, Gilbert James, who had been at Curly's burial as the ten-year-old son of the local funeral director.

The day's light was fading, and it was turning cold. Rubin quickly recited some prayers, departed, and dropped off the key. He and Shyrna caught the last train back to London with less than two minutes to spare.

In 1992, their daughter Bryna and her husband, Howard Harris, visited Holten cemetery. They found Harry's tombstone in excellent shape, with the flowers displayed on many graves providing moving evidence of the Dutch people's deeply felt gratitude toward their Canadian liberators.

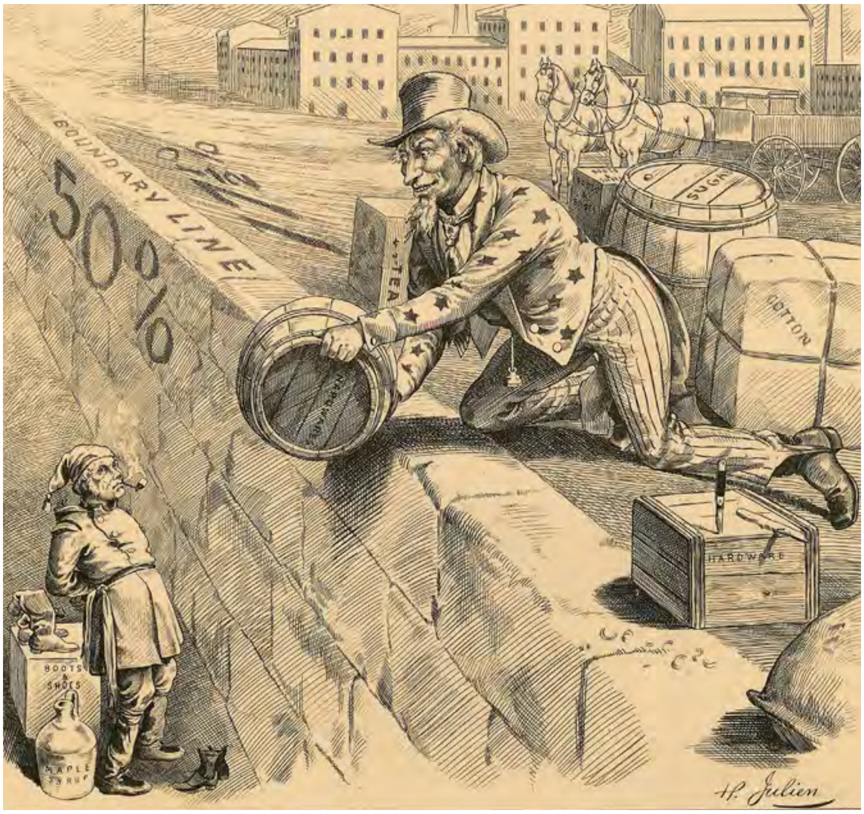
The next year the couple visited Wales, where they discovered Curly's headstone had fallen over, its inscription nearly worn off. Rubin contacted the Commonwealth War Graves Commission to have the stone replaced. After Rubin spent several years on paperwork required to prove that he was Curly's primary surviving relative, the stone was replaced. The stone bore the Star of David and a Hebrew inscription taken from Jewish Talmud: "May his soul be inscribed in the book of life."

The Goldberg brothers sanitized much in their wartime missives. But still they left behind a remarkable collection comprising more than three hundred letters brimming with their opinions, experiences, and emotions, often grounded in their Jewish background. Although convinced that Jews bore a special responsibility to fight, and though continuing to practise their faith while in the military, the brothers found themselves drawn by the war into a broader environment that began to break down barriers, including through romances with Gentiles.

Their deaths had a profound and long-lasting impact on the family. Sara was described as exuding sadness for the rest of her life. She rarely spoke of her brothers, who were simply known as "the boys." Conversation was limited to the fact that they had died in the war. Sara's daughter Louise, who never met the brothers, said she resented them because their deaths robbed her of her mother.

The Goldbergs' story is a small one, given the more than one million Canadians who donned a military uniform in the Second World War, but it is no less important for that. Their letters provide profound insight into the war's multi-faceted impact on all kinds of Canadian households, both during the fighting and long after it finally stopped.

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA



An editorial cartoon from 1876 denounces the United States for dumping cheap goods into the Canadian market.

MCCORD MUSEUM

Passing the bucks

Has free trade helped, or harmed, Canada?

Pierre Trudeau, the former prime minister, famously said living with the United States is like sleeping with an elephant. And in his day it wasn't a rogue elephant constantly trumpeting about its latest rampage.

At the end of 2017, three-way trade talks among Canada, the United States, and Mexico had stalled. The Americans were demanding big concessions from both their partners in NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement.

NAFTA has underpinned continental economic growth since the 1990s — but at the price of Canada's ongoing integration into the American economic system. Now, with NAFTA under review, Canada seemed less able than ever to refuse concessions that were likely to worsen the terms of the deal. Had the free trade deal been a bad idea from the start?

NAFTA's future was unpredictable. Its past was not very clear, either. Almost thirty years after the free trade treaties were signed (with the United States in 1988, Mexico in 1992), Canada's historians have not yet filled our bookshelves with accessible and dispassionate accounts of what free trade has given and taken away.

One such attempt is a book called *Smart Globalization*, the work of two younger Canadian historians, Dimitry Anastakis and Andrew Smith.

They assembled a team of scholars to assess the "smart globalization" theory of Harvard economist Dani Rodrik. Rodrik argues that the greatest gains in world trade history came in the post-Second World War decades, when nations lowered protective tariffs but did not abandon state involvement in trade and economic policy. Rodrik contrasts this "selective globalization" era to the post-1970s years, which he calls a period of "hyperglobalization." Historically, the societies most supportive of globalization have been those with the strongest social policies and safety nets. But contemporary trade theory seems to treat the aspirations of democracies to build secure and egalitarian societies as barriers to trade.

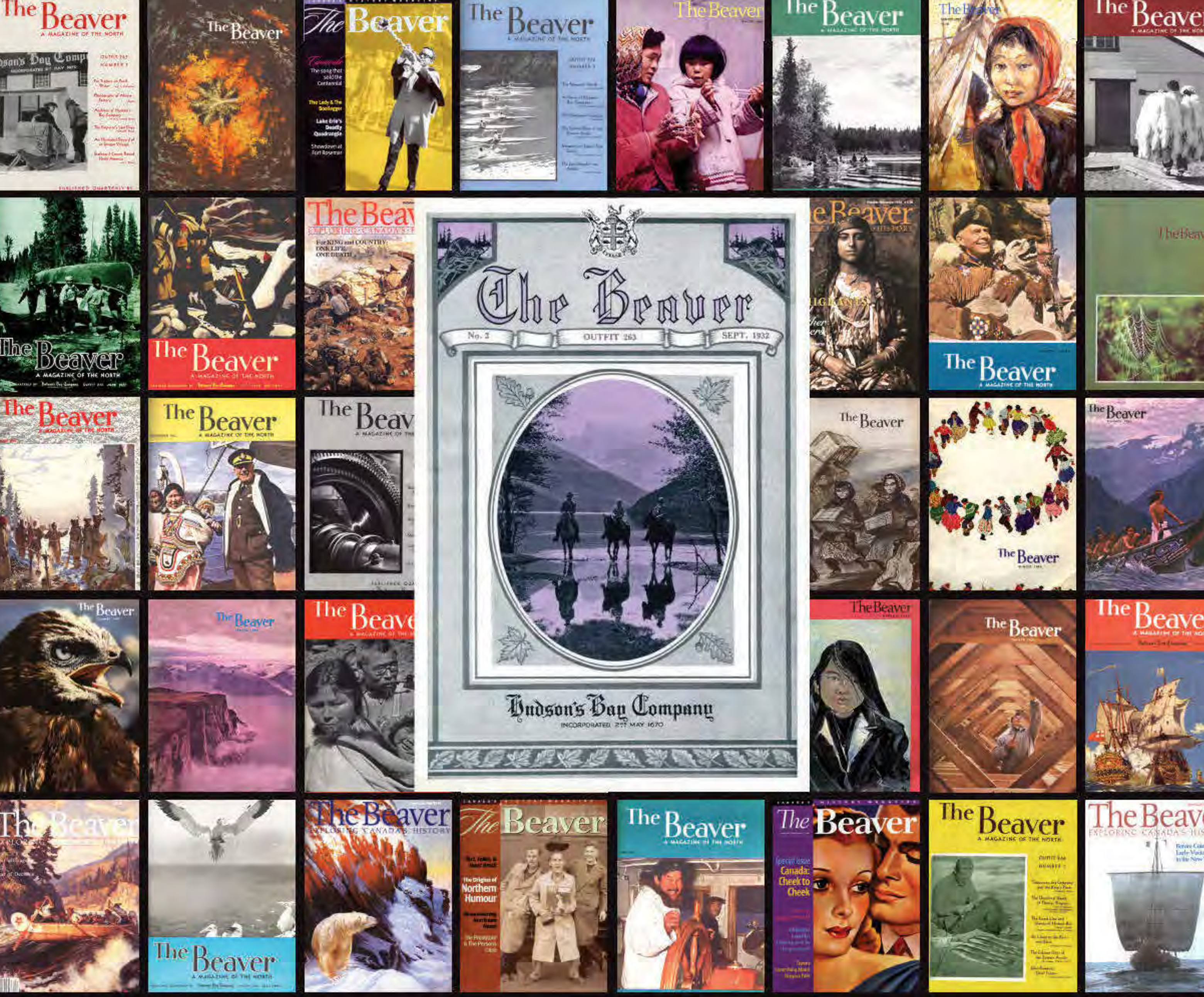
The authors of *Smart Globalization* argue that Rodrik's selective globalization quite successfully describes a couple of centuries of Canadian history. We have always depended on trade. But whether it was John A. Macdonald's National Policy, national control of strategic metals like nickel and uranium, or the early Canadian automotive industry, a mix of public policy with private enterprise often brought better results to Canada than the recent era of unfettered corporate and financial operations, with weakened public programs and growing inequality in Western societies.

Anastakis, who teaches history at Trent University in Ontario, is a student of the pre-NAFTA Auto Pact. He sees it as selective globalization in action. Canada opened its car markets to foreign automakers, but with policies to secure domestic production and workers' rights. That, he suggests, was also how the Americans built their economy in the nineteenth century, and how China became a powerhouse more recently. For Anastakis, free trade "signalled the death knell of creative Canadian policy making in the auto field."

I asked Anastakis if Canada could cope with the threatened collapse of our NAFTA arrangements. He suggested we would revert to existing World Trade Organization rules, which would keep border tariffs low. If protectionist barriers returned, he argued, "American producers would be penalized along with Canadians. They don't want new barriers."

NAFTA's collapse is a big risk. It is hard to imagine the dismantling of the bilateral and multilateral trade agreements that have defined the world of the early twenty-first century. Is it possible we could one day look back at hyperglobalization as a temporary wrong turn in Canadian and world history?

Christopher Moore comments in every issue of *Canada's History*.



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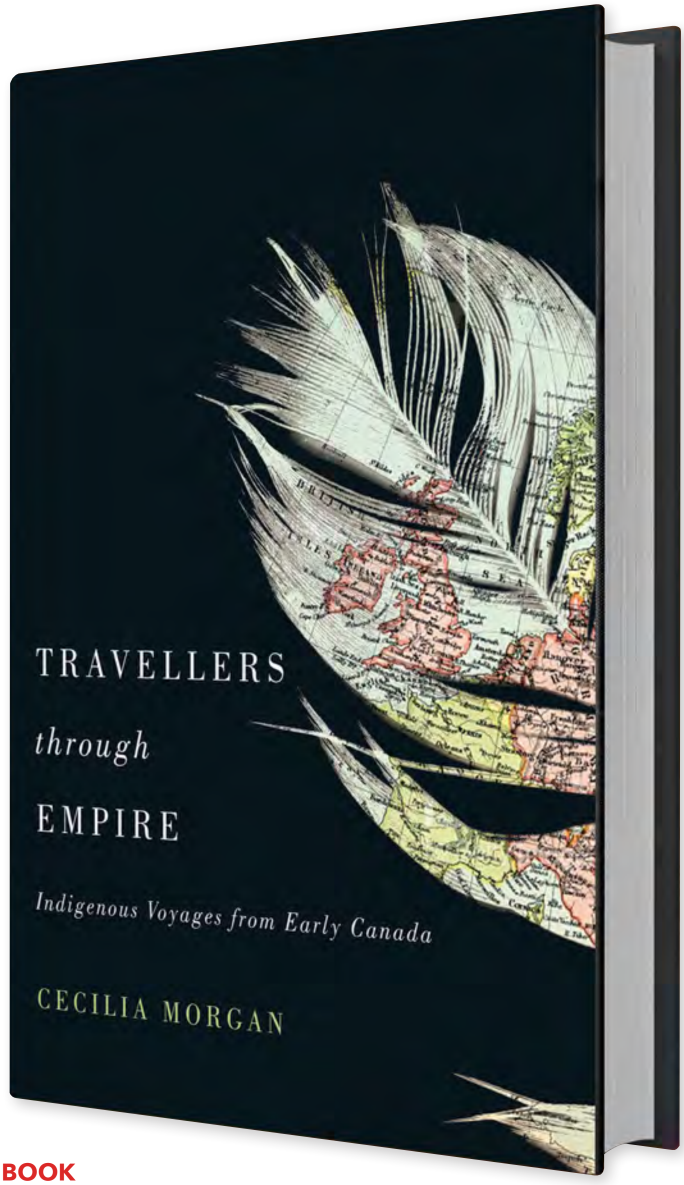

TRAVELLERS through EMPIRE
Indigenous Voyages from Early Canada
CECILIA MORGAN

OPEN BOOK

Imperial encounters

A new book records the stories and experiences of some of the many Indigenous people who travelled to Britain and other parts of the world in the late eighteenth century and during the nineteenth century. Their trips were undertaken for various reasons, including missionary work, education, performing, and advocating on behalf of their communities.

On their voyages they were received with curiosity and often as celebrities, sometimes speaking before huge audiences and meeting with royalty and leading figures of the day. But their journeys took place at a time when humanitarian perspectives were mixed with colonial and assimilationist policies.

In Cecilia Morgan's Travellers through Empire: Indigenous Voyages from Early Canada *we find people such as Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and George Copway (Kahgegagabowh), members of the Mississauga people of Upper Canada who were also Methodist missionaries as part of a nineteenth-century global missionary movement.*

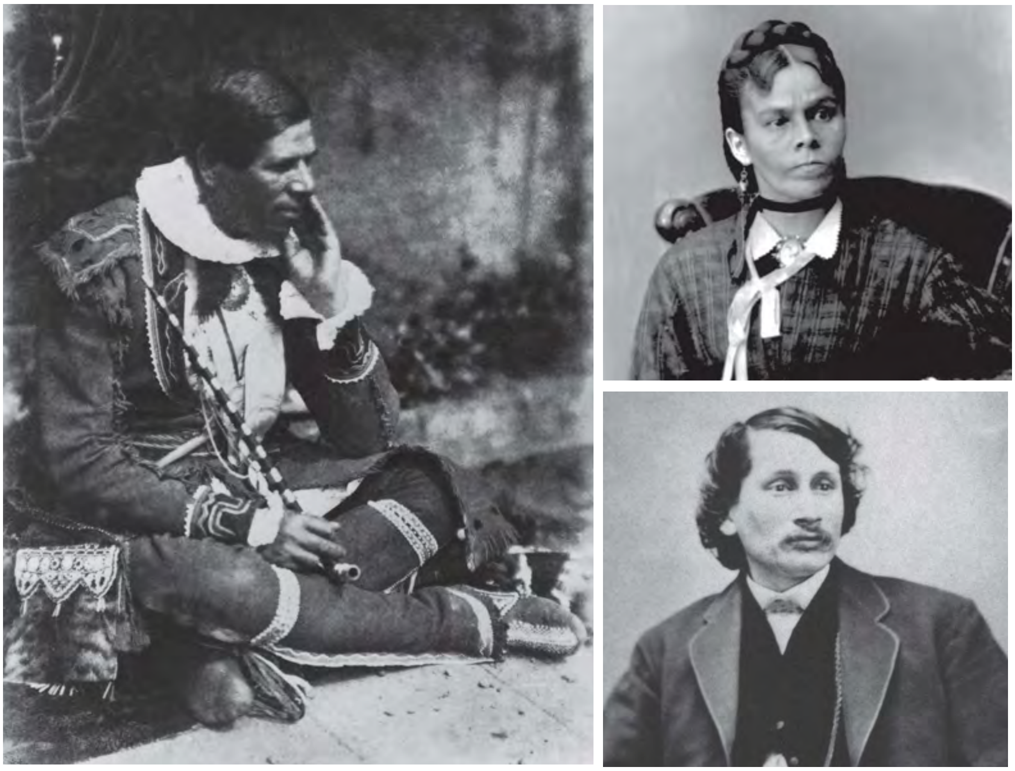
We also read about Jones' niece Catherine Sutton (Nahneebahweequa). After several moves by her family and other Indigenous people, they were denied access to their lands. Sutton was selected to represent them by travelling to London — where she was received by Queen Victoria — and her family was eventually allowed to buy back their land.

Missionary Moments and Transatlantic Celebrity: The Anishinaabeg of Upper Canada

by Cecilia Morgan

NOT ONLY DID THESE travellers lay claim to a more fluid, multi-layered performance of Indigeneity than that of the assimilated convert, they also assessed, commented on, and judged British society, highlighting both its assets and its foibles. While Peter Jones shaped the world of the Ojibwe for a variety of audiences, he also told his Upper Canadian audiences about England, reversing the customary pattern of the period's travel literature and nascent ethnographies in which the colony was brought to the metropole. "I thought you would be glad to hear my remarks, as an Indian traveller, on the customs and manner of the English people," he wrote to the *Christian Guardian*. He found the English generally a "noble, generous minded people — free to act, and free to think — they very much pride themselves in their civil and religious privileges, in their learning, generosity, manufacture, and commerce, and they think that no other nation is equal with them in respect to these things." Jones found them very "open and friendly … ready to relieve the needs of the poor and needy when properly brought before them."

He did, though, characterize the English as very fond of "novelties" — no nation, in fact, was as taken with new things. Here, Jones displayed an acute awareness that his appearances in Britain were performances staged and enacted before an audience, part of the theatre of both the missionary and the British colonial worlds. "They will gaze and look upon a foreigner as if he had just dropped down from the moon: and I have often been amused in seeing what a large number of people, a monkey riding upon a dog, will collect in the streets of London where such things may be seen almost everyday." Jones went on to hint at the tensions he faced. "When my Indian name is announced to attend any public meeting, so great is their curiosity that the place is always sure to be filled; and it would be the same if notice was



Left: Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) in Ojibwe clothing. Upper right: Catherine Sutton (Nahneebahweequa) circa 1860. Lower right: George Copway (Kahgegagabowh) circa early 1860s.

COURTESY MCGILL-QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY PRESS

given that a man with his toes in his mouth would address a congregation in such a place, and on such a day, the place without fail would be filled with English hearers." Jones' causes might benefit from the attention paid to him as an "Indian," but he was acutely aware that his audience might see him as both a celebrity and an exotic spectacle in a theatre of colonial attractions, one whose novelty might wear off as other, even more exciting, representatives of "otherness" appeared.

While appreciative of the English support for overseas missions and English philanthropy, Jones noted the hold that commercial capitalism had on his hosts. "Their close attention to business, I think, rather carries them too much to a worldly mindedness, and hence many forget to think about their souls and their God … 'Money, money, get money – get rich and be a gentleman.' With this sentiment they all fly about in every direction like a swarm of bees in search of that treasure which lies so near their hearts." … Although he was, perhaps, too polite — or politically savvy — to mention it, it's hard not to imagine that Jones knew there was a clear link between the metropolitan desire for "money, money" and settlers' desire for his peoples' traditional lands. ...

THEIR TRAVELS ALSO provided them with the opportunity to do more than offer a critical ethnography of metropolitan society. Imperial travel might also provide wider audiences for subtle — and not-so-subtle — attacks on the wrongdoing of settler colonialism. Such attacks were common in the writings of Indigenous travellers. For Catherine Sutton, her entire trip was aimed at righting the wrongs settler officials had committed against her people, a strategy that involved deploying a range of stances and tropes. On the one hand, she frequently depicted herself as possessing a transparent persona, fixed, centred, and not contingent upon its context, telling her "American Friends" that they would be welcomed "at my humble forest home" and promising them they "will find Nahneebahweequa at New York and London to be Nahneebahweequa at Owen Sound." However, Sutton's creation of a public identity within the transatlantic world may have been a somewhat more complex process. In many of her public letters and addresses to the Quakers and to periodicals such as the *Colonial Intelligencer; or Aborigines' Friend*, she alternated between the use of what may have been, according to some ethnohistorians, the Ojibwe "language of pity" (her constant use of the phrase "poor Indian"), appeals to Christian sentiment, and clear denunciations of colonial injustices. In a fairly typical letter to the "Friends of New York," published in the *Friends' Intelligencer* in 1861, "Nahneebahweequa" blesses them for taking in "an unprotected Indian woman, a lonely, solitary wanderer, a foreign pilgrim in a strange land … all of you did something in this great effort that was made by my poor, despised, downtrodden people." …

While it may have been politically strategic, as well as integral to her Christian beliefs, for Sutton to perform as a supplicant who appealed to her audiences' sympathies and sensibilities, hers was not a message delivered only in that idiom. Rather than accepting a subservient place in a colonial hierarchy skewed by distortions of gender and race, she pointed to the ways that Indigenous women in particular suffered from such deformations of the law. "All in a land where the poor slave can come and be a man and a citizen; while the poor Indian woman that is married to a white man can be driven from her home and taken for a white woman; but, when she offers to buy her own land, she is an Indian." Nevertheless, despite the Indian Department's imposed categories, she wrote, "I am an Indian; the blood of my forefathers runs in my veins, and I am not ashamed to own it; for my people were a noble race before the pale faces came to possess their lands and homes." Yet despite having been well received by the Duke of Newcastle and the Queen, the duke had betrayed her. He had pretended that the Indian Department was innocent of any charges of wrongdoing. Instead, ignoring Sutton's male fellow petitioners, Newcastle claimed that her marriage had turned her into an Englishwoman and that she had no claim to her lands. Nahneebahweequa disputed these charges, pointing out that she had been married since 1839 and only now been told of her changed status; she also argued that the numerous other Indigenous women who were married to non-Indigenous men had not suffered such discrimination. …

Far from being helpless, Sutton herself had been wronged and was determined to right that fact. Overseas travel, then, might mean the chance to defend rights to land and to call attention to the betrayals of colonial administrations, as well as giving Christian Indigenous people a platform from which they could demand humanitarian support and sympathy from their audiences. Emotional bonds might lead not to mourning but to political activism. ...

THE INTERNATIONAL networks that brought these travellers to Britain also brought them into the orbit of prominent and well-known figures within British society, figures whose patronage helped shape their movements within metropolitan centres. A range of politicians, religious leaders, and prominent philanthropists — Daniel O'Connell, the politician John Bright, and the Queen's cousin and leader in the Aborigines' Protection Association, Sir Augustus d'Este — met with them. These meetings were publicized and promoted as proof of their visibility and the potential of increased assistance that they might receive from such contacts. In particular, an audience with Queen Victoria was a significant moment in their metropolitan tours. Eliza Jones noted that, on July 18, 1837, she began to help her husband prepare for his interview, which took place almost two months later, on September 14. To be sure, her description of the audience does not suggest a great deal of pomp or spectacle, except for Jones' Indigenous dress, worn on the advice of his patrons. "When the folding doors were thrown open, we saw the Queen standing about the middle of the room, each advanced bowing several times till at last they met, when Peter went down on his knee holding up his right arm, on which the Queen placed her hand, he then rose and presenting the Petition said, he was much pleased to be introduced to Her Majesty, explained the nature of the petition and the wampum chain." Victoria smiled and "appeared pleased to hear that the prayer of the petition had been granted." Jones then told her that he thought she might like to keep the petition "as a curiosity," which she accepted and, having asked about his visits to England, "she bowed to indicate the visit was over, he did the same, they then receded backwards, at length the little Queen turned her back, and the interview was over."

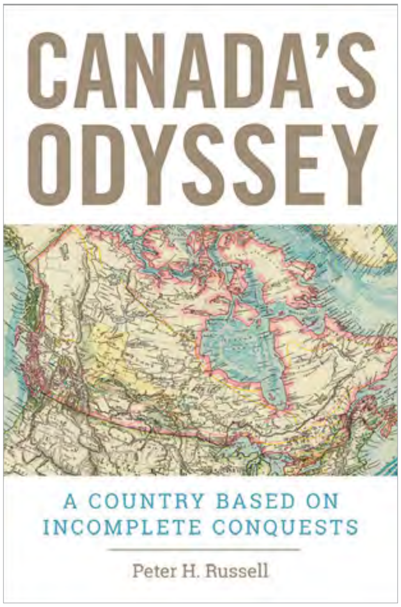
> Far from being helpless, Catherine Sutton had been wronged and was determined to right that fact.

A royal audience added a degree of lustre and prestige to the status of a colonial subject. Moreover, their position as a celebrated representative of their people also could be underscored by links to historical Indigenous individuals who had been attributed a semi-monarchical or regal status. Jones stated that he was part of a long line of Indigenous people, such as Pocahontas and King Philip, both of whom had enjoyed an elevated position within their own nations and had also been highly visible actors within metropolitan and colonial society. George Copway's connections with particular members of English society, many of them committed to liberalism and reform causes (abolition and penal and educational reform, to name a few), are interwoven throughout his book *Running Sketches*, offered as proof that he was recognized as an important figure. While in Liverpool, he was entertained by Richard Rathbone and his brother, the former mayor of that city, along with the "chief magistrate" E. Rushton, who had previously accompanied Copway to watch Police Court proceedings. In London he actively sought out a number of English politicians. Copway dined at Fintan's Hotel with Mr Brotherton, "the vegetarian MP"; breakfasted with Richard Cobden, whose "solid English look I very much admire" and who asked him a number of questions about his country and people; and went to dinner at Lord Brougham's, where he met lords and a marquis, "a nobler set of Englishmen I never beheld." The company also included Mr. Gambardilli, the "celebrated portrait painter."

After leaving his lodgings from Randall's Hotel in Cheapside in favour of Hanover Square's much quieter (and likely more elite) George Street, Copway found "an abundance of cards on my table. O fie, fie: these English will spoil me." Gambardilli, Dr. Wiseman (quite likely the Roman Catholic cardinal), E. Saunders the "celebrated dentist," and Lady Franklin and her brother, Sir Simpkinson: all extended dinner invitations, which he was happy to accept (although he was left exhausted by them). Upon his return to London, Copway feared he would disappoint his many callers. He was running out of time in London and, as well as receiving numerous letters and cards, also had invitations from two committees who wanted him as a speaker.

While it is difficult to determine whether all these meetings took place, the political and social concerns of many of these individuals makes it quite plausible that they would be sympathetic to and curious about the "Ojibway chief" who was so concerned about the well-being and advancement of his people.

From Travellers through Empire: Indigenous Voyages from Early Canada, *by Cecilia Morgan. Reprinted with permission of McGill-Queen's University Press.*



SHARED AMBITIONS

Canada's Odyssey: A Country Based on Incomplete Conquests

University of Toronto Press,
543 pages, $39.95

Peter Russell has been teaching Canadian constitutional politics since the 1950s at the University of Toronto, and he has given us the benefit of a lifetime's scholarship and engagement in this brilliant book. It is thoughtful, incisively written, and as accessible an account as one will ever find about our country's political and legal history. Many books are called "indispensable"; this one certainly rates that description. Readers familiar with his earlier books, such as *Constitutional Odyssey*, should know that this latest book has far more depth, context, and reflection than those efforts, as useful and thorough as they are. This is the magnum opus.

Russell's thesis is contained in the subtitle, "A Country Based on Incomplete Conquests" — the premise being that while three competing experiences and narratives of the country have attempted to achieve supremacy, in reality none has "conquered," and the journey continues. He brilliantly describes how first contact on North American soil between Indigenous, French, and British peoples and governments was based on misunderstandings, imperial ambition and arrogance, and indeed racism, but efforts to achieve complete conquest ultimately failed. We are now left with a shared space that still requires governance based on mutual respect and understanding; and that necessary journey into the future will require even deeper change than we have experienced before.

Few scholars possess as broad a range as Russell, who combines a deep interest and knowledge of Canadian history with a sense of humility about how much more there is to know. His is the only such broad account that makes such a conscious effort to reflect the perspective of Indigenous people in describing the nature of the colonial experience, and he points out the extent of the deception and breach of promise that has marked the relationship between First Nations and the governments of European settlers.

Another strength of the book is its narrative quality. Russell writes with vigour, adds to our knowledge of history and law, and keeps it accessible. He also reminds each generation that they are living in history and that their efforts to deny the legitimacy of the other will ultimately fail, just as similar efforts have in the past.

Russell does not pull his punches in pointing out the betrayals of the past and the degree of the challenges ahead, in light of the history of racism, discrimination, and the imposition of great hardship that has made such a mess of Indigenous policy. Nor is he any less determined in his analysis of the Confederation debate, the hanging of Louis Riel, and the struggle over the patriation of the constitution and its aftermath. The book has a symphonic quality as it moves back and forth between each perspective and experience. Russell manages to keep the reader's interest through many issues that might seem as dry as dust but which in fact show that Canada is a complicated and fascinating place.

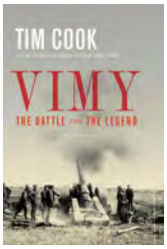
I have to declare my own relationship to the author. Peter Russell has been a mentor of mine for nearly fifty years and has always responded generously to calls for advice and assistance. He is a truly wise soul, as many readers not familiar with his life or teaching can now share. We should all be grateful that he is still working, thinking, and writing — and that he has given us the benefit of his insights. Long may he continue to do so. We need him now more than ever.

Reviewed by **Bob Rae**, who is serving as special envoy of the prime minister to Myanmar and is a lawyer at Olthuis Kleer Townshend LLP and a distinguished senior fellow at the University of Toronto. An author, speaker, and advisor on public policy issues, he is an avid student of history.

CONTESTED GROUND

Vimy: The Battle and the Legend

by Tim Cook
Allen Lane, 512 pages, $38



The hundredth anniversary in April 2017 of the Battle of Vimy Ridge was marked by major commemorative events but also by controversies. Even as a huge Canadian delegation commemorated the battle in France, some critics at home objected to what they called the valorization of war and challenged the legitimacy of the nation-building myth that surrounds Vimy.

All of this seems to have been predicted by Tim Cook in *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend*, published shortly before the brouhaha began. In this his ninth book, Cook, a historian at the Canadian War Museum, shows how the memory of battle was contested from the very beginning. When, in the early 1920s, the decision was made to commemorate the Canadians' efforts overseas, it was by no means taken for granted that Vimy had been the Canadian Corps' most significant battle, nor that it would be the obvious site for a planned national war memorial.

In fact, the jury that chose Walter Allward's now-iconic design for the national memorial had initially preferred Hill 62, the site of a now largely forgotten 1916 battle called Mount Sorrel. Meanwhile, Canadian Corps commander Arthur Currie preferred that each of the corps' major battles be commemorated equally, thinking it quite improper to single out one. In the end, Vimy Ridge was selected in large part through the intervention of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King.

The decision to place Allward's masterpiece there helped to solidify Vimy in the public imagination as *the* definitive Canadian battle of the First World War. Nonetheless, Cook argues, Vimy was forgotten for a time in the wake of new victories in the Second World War, only to return to the public consciousness in the dual commemoration of its fiftieth anniversary and Canada's centenary in 1967. In the fifty years since, the memory and related understandings of the battle have continued to evolve. Recent events suggest that what Cook calls the Vimy myth will continue to be a focal point for argument about Canada's past.

The book works on many levels: as a study of social memory, Canadian culture, and nation-building, but also as a military history. Fully a third of the book is a detailed and often-harrowing account of the battle itself. It is here that Cook brings to bear his immense talents as writer, as he moves effortlessly between command-level decision-making and the experiences of individual soldiers during those four dreadful days in April 1917.

In the past decade, Cook has emerged as Canada's most popular historian. His bestselling and award-winning works on Canada's experiences in the world wars have captured the imagination of thousands of readers. Inevitably, however, books such as Vimy, which is aimed at a mass audience, provoke sometimes acrimonious and often needless discussions about the merits of "popular" versus "academic" history. With *Vimy*, Cook once again demonstrates that there is no necessary divide between the two. *Vimy* is at once a bracing read that can be enjoyed by the reading public at large and a serious work of scholarship that makes extensive use of archival sources. If the resulting book is a "Vimy trap," I am a very happy captive of it indeed.

Reviewed by **Graham Broad**, an associate professor of history at King's University College at Western University.

New from University of Toronto Press

Residential Schools and Reconciliation
Canada Confronts its History
by J.R. Miller
'This book explains how, in a quarter of a century, the Indigenous peoples' version of the history of Indian Residential Schools has left the margins and moved to the centre of our understanding of Canadian history.'
Donald B. Smith, University of Calgary

Contours of the Nation
Making Obesity and Imagining Canada, 1945–1970
by Deborah McPhail
Contours of the Nation is the first book which explores obesity in Canada in the post-war period from a critical perspective.

Globalizing Confederation
Canada and the World in 1867
edited by Jacqueline D. Krikorian, Marcel Martel, Adrian Shubert
The contributors of this collection present how Canada's Confederation captured the imaginations of people around the world in the 1860s.

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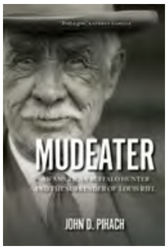
BEYOND APPREHENSION

Mudeater: An American Buffalo Hunter and the Surrender of Louis Riel

by John D. Pihach
University of Regina Press,
272 pages, $27.95



His name was Mudeater — Irvin Mudeater. At least that was what he was called in the United States, where he was known as the son of a Wyandotte chief in Kansas and as a great frontiersman.

In 1882, he came to Canada and adopted a different name and a different ethnicity. Here he was Robert Armstrong, and he let others believe that he was white. In Canada he helped to make history by playing an instrumental role in the surrender of Louis Riel, the Métis leader who was hanged for his crimes — an execution that is today considered to have been unjust.

His involvement in Riel's arrest in 1885 overshadows the earlier exploits of Mudeater (or Armstrong) in the United States, when he ran wagon trains, drove a stagecoach, and was known as a fearless buffalo hunter. As he wrote in his memoir, "during the summer of 1871 I killed over sixteen hundred buffalo."

As either Mudeater or Armstrong, this was a restless man, always on the move. After his encounter with Riel, Mudeater lived in Prince Albert and Rosthern in what is now Saskatchewan, in Oklahoma, and in Gleichen and Calgary in Alberta, before moving to California. He died in Los Angeles in 1940.

Despite his role in a pivotal time in history, the story of Mudeater has never been well-known and is almost forgotten today. Author John D. Pihach is helping to correct that with this book, which is remarkable in a couple of ways. For one thing, Pihach started his quest to learn about Mudeater because of a chance comment from a neighbour who said that his ancestor had been the man who captured Riel. Beyond that, Mudeater kept a comprehensive memoir — it was still in the hands of his descendants, and they were quite happy to share it with Pihach.

Any personal reminiscences must be viewed with a healthy dose of skepticism and should be checked against other records whenever possible. Pihach did that as he gathered material to tell the story of Mudeater's life, using a wide variety of genealogical and historical sources as he fleshed out, confirmed, and corrected this biography.

Pihach's narrative makes up less than half the book, which also includes a transcript of Mudeater's memoir. The man's own words offer another view of his life, one that provides an interesting perspective on the lawless American West.

The memoir is unfiltered and unchallenged but describes a world that is all but forgotten today. It could have been the basis for many western movies. Mudeater's story is at times ugly, at times exciting, and for the most part fascinating.

He clearly did not identify with his Native American community. He tells of encounters with Indigenous people as an outsider would write the story, and he uses words such as "redskin" that are jarring today. On the other hand, these words help to convey the language of the day as well as his own attitude.

He wrote at length of his ability to kill buffalo, earning at one point earning eight dollars for every calf he killed. He also noted that the buffalo were an important source of food for Indigenous peoples — again writing as if denying his own ancestry.

Mudeater met Riel in Montana in 1882, and Riel later claimed to have saved the life of Mudeater by telling others not to claim the price on the latter's head. The book includes several accounts of Riel's apprehension, including words from various men involved in the capture. In effect, with Pihach's inclusion of source documents, we can analyze the story for ourselves.

It might have seemed that every possible detail about Riel has already been published; after all, it has been more than 130 years since he was hanged. Yet with his book *Mudeater* Pihach has brought new light to the story. He helps readers to gain a better understanding of the political forces and the public opinion that led to the hunt for and surrender of Riel.

Reviewed by **Dave Obee**, a member of the board of Canada's History Society.

MORE BOOKS

Miss Confederation: The Diary of Mercy Anne Coles

by Anne McDonald
Dundurn Press, 192 pages, $22.99

ANNE McDONALD
Miss Confederation
The Diary of Mercy Anne Coles

Author Anne McDonald was intrigued when she heard of the September 1864 Charlottetown Conference. After learning that twenty-six-year-old Mercy Anne Coles of Charlottetown had accompanied her mother and father to the Confederation Conference in Quebec City the following month — and kept a diary to boot — she saw a story that begged to be told.

Coles was one of nine unmarried daughters of Maritime delegates to go to Quebec. While her father, George Coles, and his colleagues were wooed by the Canadians (from present-day Quebec and Ontario), the women helped to keep the tone congenial.

McDonald notes their "unofficial role in the negotiations" and says Coles' diary "is the only full account of these events from a woman's perspective." A transcription of the full diary, including the family's return trip through the northern United States during the U.S. Civil War, is published here for the first time in its entirety.

The journal is a who's who of the future Fathers of Confederation and explains the conditions surrounding their negotiations. Although Coles became bedridden with diphtheria, she managed to write about both the inclement weather and the various goings-on that were relayed to her by numerous visitors — all of them blithely unaware of how the disease is transmitted.

Miss Confederation is not just a record of historic people and events told from a young woman's perspective. In this book, McDonald and Coles take readers along on the "Confederation ride" — a fascinating and revealing tour of eastern Canada in 1864. — *Beverley Tallon*

Salish Blankets: Robes of Protection and Transformation, Symbols of Wealth

by Leslie H. Tepper, Janice George, and Willard Joseph
University of Nebraska Press, 217 pages, $82

By the early twentieth century, Salish weaving as a creative art form and a key element of Salish First Nations culture was almost lost. Two of this book's authors — Janice George (a hereditary chief) and Willard Joseph of the Squamish First Nation — have been active in reviving traditional weaving through their own practice and by teaching others. In *Salish Blankets* they are joined by Leslie Tepper, curator of Western ethnology at the Canadian Museum of History, who brings historical and international information as well as an academic slant.

The book describes the blankets of the Salish First Nations, including their designs, their history, how they are woven, and their enormous cultural importance. It is detailed and well-researched, based on information obtained from weavers, oral histories by elders, and archives and blankets from the Canadian Museum of History as well as international museums. Additional information is presented via photographs, illustrations, tables, and two appendices. Historical black-and-white photographs are particularly evocative.

Salish Blankets describes the extraordinary complexity of ceremonial blankets and robes and their connection with both the natural and supernatural worlds. The blankets are considered objects of power and play an important role in feasts and ceremonies. They offer emotional strength and spiritual defence to their wearers and are also symbols of wealth.

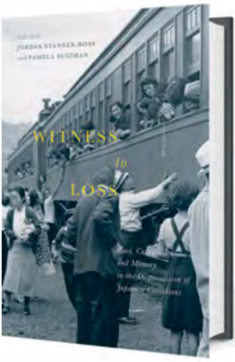
By providing detailed insight into Salish weaving, *Salish Blankets* not only helps to revive this traditional craft but also sheds light on west coast Indigenous culture. — *Hans Tammemagi*

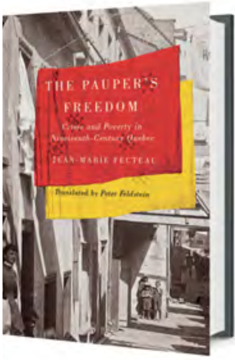
Defending the Inland Shores: Newfoundland in the War of 1812

by Gordon K. Jones
BookLand Press, 163 pages, $19.95

A key conflict in Canadian history, the War of 1812 was fought largely on the border between Canada and the United States and was far removed from the island of Newfoundland. However, in his book *Defending the Inland Shores: Newfoundland in the War of 1812*, Gordon K. Jones examines the unique role the Royal Newfoundland Regiment of Fencible Infantry played in this conflict.

Although many Newfoundland soldiers volunteered to fight against the Americans when the war began, they did





L.M. Montgomery and War
Edited by Andrea McKenzie and Jane Ledwell

Reclaiming the place of a writer best known for depicting the lives of girls and women, as a groundbreaking writer about war.

"… a delight to read. The use of biography, journals, and historical context is admirable."
–Holly Blackford, Rutgers University

Witness to Loss
Race, Culpability, and Memory in the Dispossession of Japanese Canadians
Edited by Jordan Stanger-Ross and Pamela Sugiman

A previously unpublished memoir reveals the impossible circumstances that confronted the victims of racist state action during the Second World War, including diverse commentary from historians, sociologists, and a community activist who lived through this history.

The Pauper's Freedom
Crime and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Quebec
Jean-Marie Fecteau
Translated by Peter Feldstein

"The work of a leading public intellectual and major scholar of social control, institutions, and legal history, is finally accessible to an English readership. Its originality, its forceful argument on the nature of liberalism and individualism, its situating of the treatment of poverty into a liberal framework, and its damning interpretation of institutional Catholicism, make this book a major contribution to Quebec historiography."
–Brian Young, McGill University

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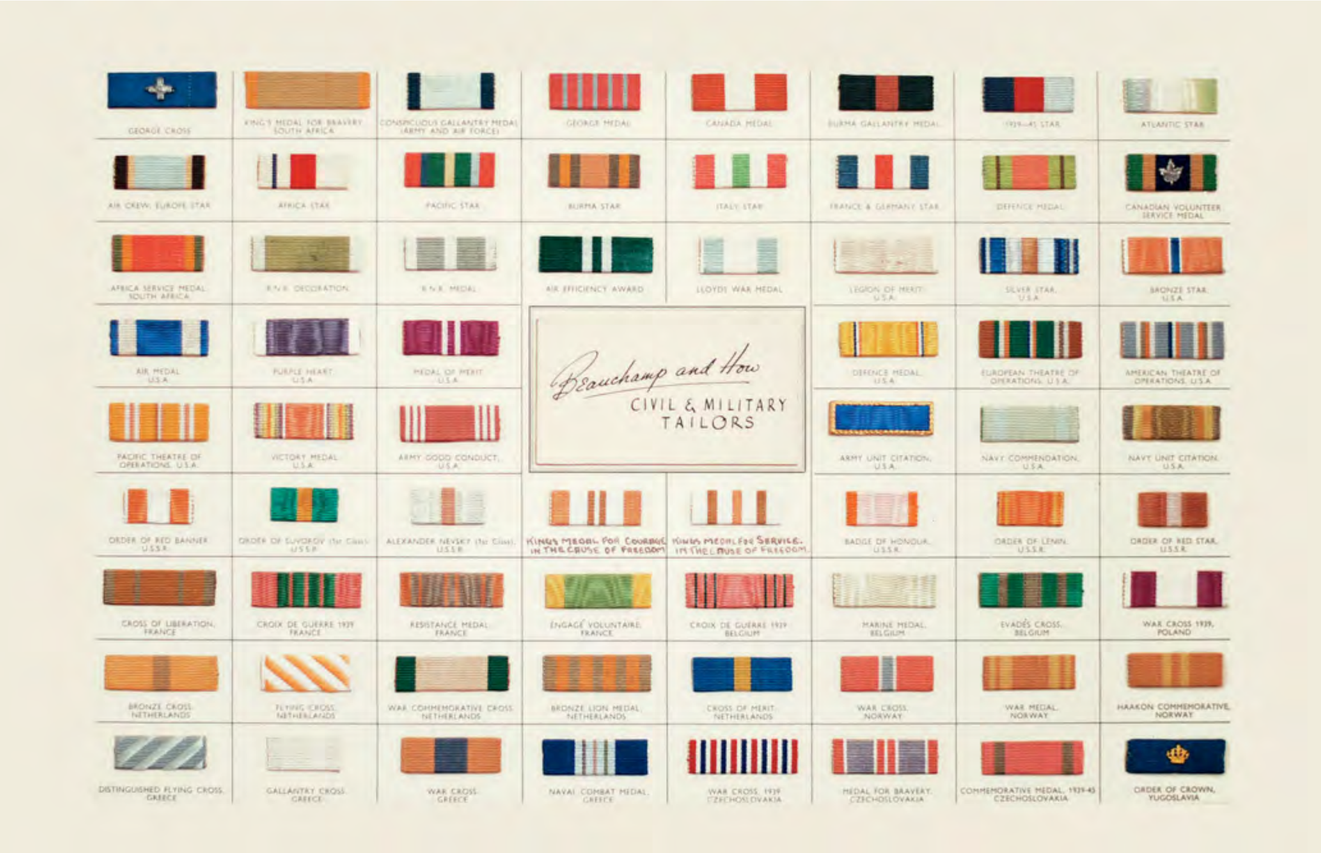

GEORGE CROSS
KING'S MEDAL FOR BRAVERY SOUTH AFRICA
CONSPICUOUS GALLANTRY MEDAL (ARMY AND AIR FORCE)
GEORGE MEDAL
CANADA MEDAL
BURMA GALLANTRY MEDAL
1939–45 STAR
ATLANTIC STAR
AIR CREW, EUROPE STAR
AFRICA STAR
PACIFIC STAR
BURMA STAR
ITALY STAR
FRANCE & GERMANY STAR
DEFENCE MEDAL
CANADIAN VOLUNTEER SERVICE MEDAL
AFRICA SERVICE MEDAL SOUTH AFRICA
R.N.R. DECORATION
R.N.R. MEDAL
AIR EFFICIENCY AWARD
LLOYDS WAR MEDAL
LEGION OF MERIT U.S.A.
SILVER STAR, U.S.A.
BRONZE STAR U.S.A.
AIR MEDAL U.S.A.
PURPLE HEART U.S.A.
MEDAL OF MERIT U.S.A.
Beauchamp and How
CIVIL & MILITARY TAILORS
DEFENCE MEDAL, U.S.A.
EUROPEAN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS, U.S.A.
AMERICAN THEATRE OF OPERATIONS, U.S.A.
PACIFIC THEATRE OF OPERATIONS, U.S.A.
VICTORY MEDAL U.S.A.
ARMY GOOD CONDUCT, U.S.A.
ARMY UNIT CITATION, U.S.A.
NAVY COMMENDATION, U.S.A.
NAVY UNIT CITATION, U.S.A.
ORDER OF RED BANNER U.S.S.R.
ORDER OF SUVOROV (1st Class) U.S.S.R.
ALEXANDER NEVSKY (1st Class), U.S.S.R.
KINGS MEDAL FOR COURAGE IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM
KINGS MEDAL FOR SERVICE IN THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM
BADGE OF HONOUR, U.S.S.R.
ORDER OF LENIN, U.S.S.R.
ORDER OF RED STAR, U.S.S.R.
CROSS OF LIBERATION, FRANCE
CROIX DE GUERRE 1939 FRANCE
RESISTANCE MEDAL FRANCE
ENGAGÉ VOLUNTAIRE, FRANCE
CROIX DE GUERRE 1939 BELGIUM
MARINE MEDAL, BELGIUM
EVADÉS CROSS, BELGIUM
WAR CROSS 1939, POLAND
BRONZE CROSS, NETHERLANDS
FLYING CROSS, NETHERLANDS
WAR COMMEMORATIVE CROSS NETHERLANDS
BRONZE LION MEDAL, NETHERLANDS
CROSS OF MERIT NETHERLANDS
WAR CROSS, NORWAY
WAR MEDAL, NORWAY
HAAKON COMMEMORATIVE, NORWAY
DISTINGUISHED FLYING CROSS, GREECE
GALLANTRY CROSS, GREECE
WAR CROSS, GREECE
NAVAL COMBAT MEDAL, GREECE
WAR CROSS, 1939 CZECHOSLOVAKIA
MEDAL FOR BRAVERY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
COMMEMORATIVE MEDAL, 1939-45 CZECHOSLOVAKIA
ORDER OF CROWN, YUGOSLAVIA

ATTENDING TO DETAILS The Toronto-based Beauchamp family has operated a custom tailoring business for civilian and military clienteles through three generations. The new book *Walter Beauchamp: A Tailored History of Toronto* (Figure 1 Publishing, 175 pages, $40) portrays the evolution of the business over more than a century while telling about the officers and soldiers, mayors and prime ministers, judges, artists, and explorers who shopped there. This image shows a collection of war medal ribbons that was produced as a tailor's guide and as a showpiece for the Beauchamp and How store in 1951.

COURTESY FIGURE 1 PUBLISHING

not fight as a united regiment and were instead split up amongst the British units. As such, their experience has largely been overlooked and gone untold.

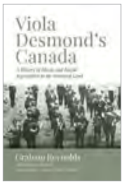
Despite their role in many key victories of the war, it wasn't until two hundred years later that the Newfoundlanders earned any battle honours. Their regiment was disbanded following the conclusion of hostilities in 1816 and before most honours were granted. This was remedied in 2012, when the regiment's successor, the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, received three battle honours dating back to the War of 1812: "Detroit," "Maumee," and "For the Defence of Canada 1812–1815."

Written in engaging and accessible prose, *Defending the Inland Shores* provides a long-overdue focus on the Newfoundland soldiers who were present at some of the war's most famous battles and who played an important role in defending the British colonies from American attacks. — *Joanna Dawson*

Viola Desmond's Canada: A History of Blacks and Racial Segregation in the Promised Land

by Graham Reynolds

Fernwood Publishing, 213 pages, $30

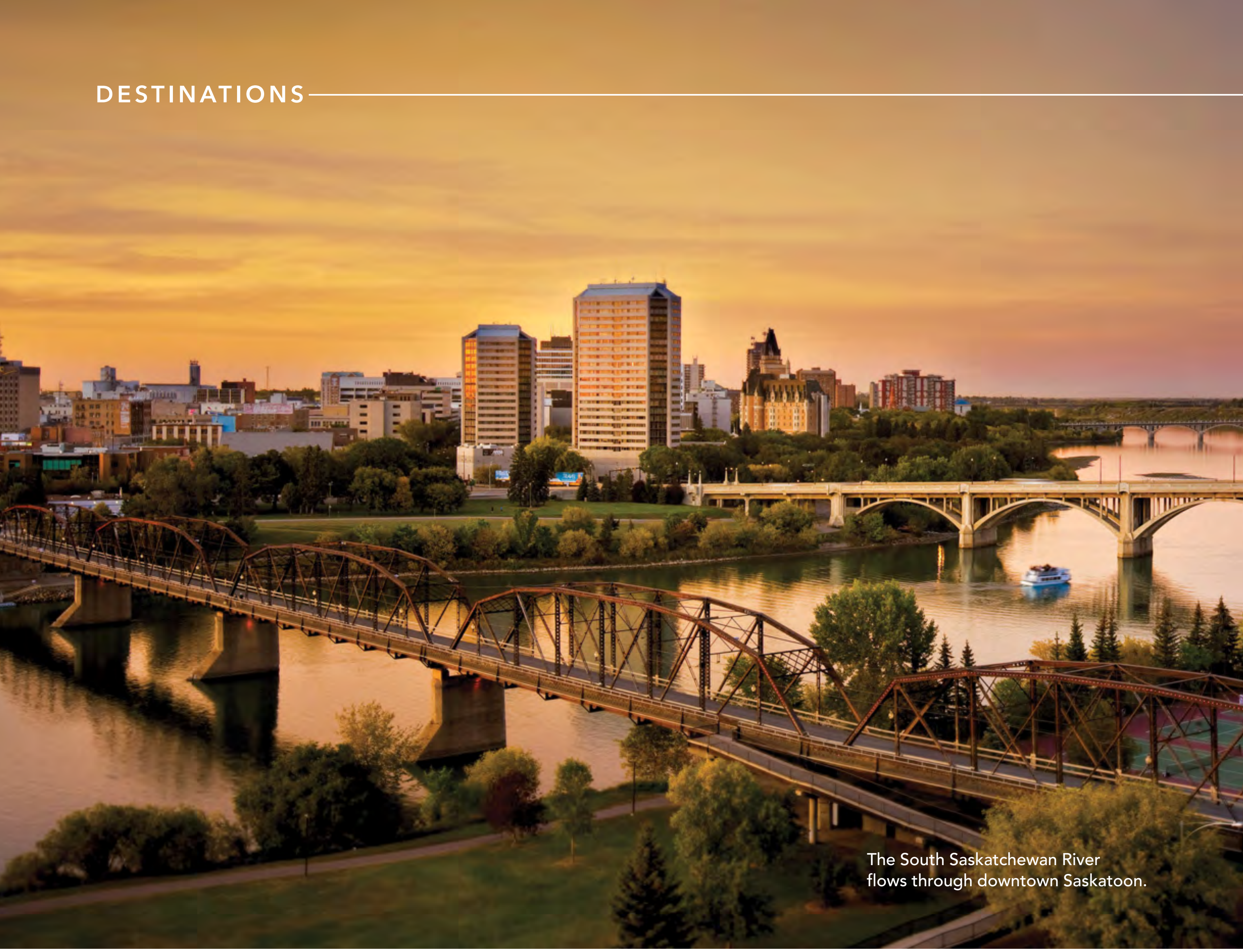

Viola Desmond's Canada
Graham Reynolds

Author Graham Reynolds is a professor emeritus and the Viola Desmond Chair in Social Justice at Cape Breton University. In *Viola Desmond's Canada*, he writes of the "collective amnesia" regarding Desmond's wrongful arrest for sitting in the whites-only section of a movie theatre in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, in 1946.

Reynolds also considers the origins of slavery in Canada, U.S. Jim Crow laws and Canada's assimilation of segregation, West Indian immigration, and the Ku Klux Klan and other evidence of the culture of racism. Two other interesting sections are an examination of the possessions of a forty-year-old freed slave, Marie Marguerite Rose, upon her death in 1757 and the closing chapter on little-known Nova Scotian black activist Pearleen Oliver.

The book includes a chapter written by Desmond's youngest sister, Wanda Robson, and concludes with a discussion at the 2011 Promised Land Symposium that includes Robson's poignant comment, "Racism is certainly not fair; it's ugly, it's demeaning, and it is very hurtful."

Photographs, letters, posters, and newspaper clippings are used to portray many past injustices and help Reynolds reveal a scar upon Canada's past that has not completely healed. — *Beverley Tallon*



The South Saskatchewan River flows through downtown Saskatoon.

TOURISM SASKATOON

Prairie boomtown

Saskatoon historic sites reflect the city's diverse people and architecture.

by Jacquie D. Durand

SASKATOON, KNOWN AS THE BRIDGE CITY, ironically got its start due to a desire to stop the flow of another liquid — alcohol.

Aviva Kohen, media director at Tourism Saskatoon, said that "seven bridges span the beautiful South Saskatchewan River, with eighty kilometres of trails, enticing visitors to explore the many local treasures Saskatoon has to offer."

In 1883, a group of Methodists left Ontario to establish a "dry" community in the North-West Territories. Led by John Neilson Lake, the settlers travelled by rail from Toronto to Moose Jaw, in modern-day Saskatchewan, and then completed their trip by horse-drawn cart.

Among the Methodists was Alexander (Sandy) Marr, of Woodstock, Ontario. A stonemason, he built a two-storey home for his family that today is a Saskatoon landmark. Noted for its blend of Second Empire and pioneer-style architecture, the Marr Residence was designated a municipal heritage property in 1982.Marr also built another historic building in the city — the Little Stone Schoolhouse, which opened in 1888. It's located today on the University of Saskatchewan campus.

During the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, the Marr Residence was requisitioned for use as a field hospital for the treatment of wounded soldiers. The resistance was launched by local Métis peoples and their Indigenous allies as a reaction to the encroachment of the Canadian government on their traditional territories.

The five-month insurgency came to a head in May 1885 at the Battle of Batoche. At this community about seventy kilometres northeast of Saskatoon, more than 900 Canadian militia troops fought 250 Métis fighters led by Louis Riel.

After three days of fighting, the militia troops overran the Métis fighters, and on May 15 Riel surrendered. Charged with

Above: The Delta Bessborough hotel, seen in the foreground, is an iconic landmark in the city.

Left: Visitors explore a replica of a store at 1910 Boomtown, an indoor representation of a typical Saskatchewan town at the Western Development Museum in Saskatoon.

Right: The Roxy Theatre, built in 1930, features Spanish Villa-style decoration on its interior.

ROXY
THEATRE
SASKATCHEWANS ONLY ATMOSPHERIC MOVIE PALACE

TOURISM SASKATOON

high treason, Riel was convicted, condemned to death, and then hanged on November 16, 1885.

The turn of the nineteenth century saw an influx of European immigrants to the Saskatoon region. This period is showcased at the Western Development Museum's 1910 Boomtown exhibition. Saskatchewan's Western Development Museum has locations in Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, North Battleford, and Yorkton. The Saskatoon branch explores the boom period of the early 1900s through a recreation of a streetscape featuring historical businesses.

The 1910 boomtown street continues to grow with additions such as the Edwards Funeral Home, which portrays the ever-present reality of grief and death. Other exhibits in the museum explore the importance of train travel and automobiles to the growth of the province.

Another Saskatoon museum commemorates the contributions of Ukrainian settlers. The Ukrainian Museum of Canada was founded in 1936 by the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada. It was the first Ukrainian museum in the country. The main gallery houses an amazing collection of hand-painted Easter eggs and, among other historical items, traditional clothing for daily wear or for special occasions.

Saskatoon's Riversdale district is home to many independent businesses. Visitors will see a wide display of architectural styles and heritage properties.

A highlight for me was the Roxy Theatre, built in 1930 and decorated in the Spanish villa style with small balconies, windows, and towers depicted on the walls.

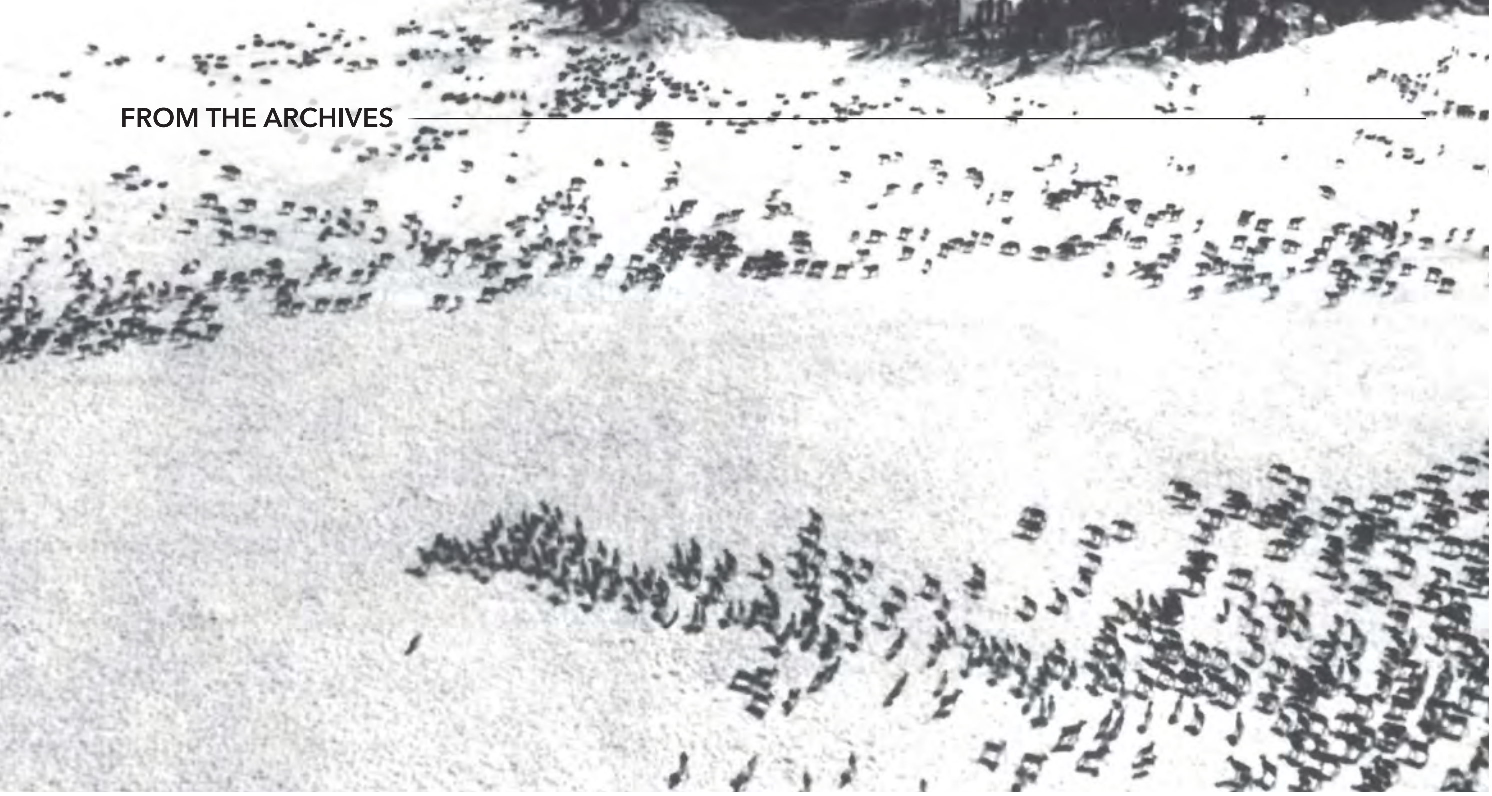
Another must-see is the historic Delta Bessborough hotel — lovingly known to locals as the "Bessie" — which was built in the château style between 1928 and 1932. Hint: Ask about the hotel's resident ghost.

For a day trip just outside the city, we visited Wanuskewin Heritage Park, which celebrates the history and culture of Saskatchewan's Indigenous peoples.

While there, we were escorted on a medicine walk along a six-kilometre trail wending through meadows, hills, and valleys. We learned about the many medicinal plants — such as boxwood, dandelion, lavender, and chamomile — as they are found in their natural habitat.

We also took part in a tipi sleepover. After we received instructions on how to correctly erect an authentic tipi, our guide informed us with a wry smile that "the tricky part is completing the basement."

I rose at first light from my tipi to the melodic sounds of birds and other wildlife. It was the perfect ending to a perfect trip. I left Saskatoon determined to return and to continue exploring one of Canada's best-kept secrets.



Living on the edges

The March 1952 issue of *The Beaver* includes a variety of stories and images of life in Canada's North, among Indigenous communities, and as recorded over the preceding centuries. Ted Tadda's cover photo of a northern trapper is followed by Audrey Hawthorn's feature article "Totem Pole Carver," about Kwakiutl artist Mungo Martin.

Martin, also known as Hanagalasu, was a much-in-demand carver and painter of "masks, house fronts, storage boxes, ladles, cradles, totem poles, and special effects for the winter dances" on the West Coast — until the potlatch ban and social change eliminated the need for his services. He became a commercial fisher but was later hired by the University of British Columbia to supervise the repair of decaying totem poles for the partial reconstruction of a traditional village that opened on university grounds in 1951.

The Beaver
A MAGAZINE OF THE NORTH

The article "Bankers of Portugal" — compiled from texts by "celebrated sea-writer" Alan Villiers — tells of the fleet of Portuguese schooners that still arrived each spring in St. John's harbour to fish the banks off Newfoundland, as their forerunners had done for some 450 years. Photos show some of the sleek vessels and their crews.

In the same issue, an aerial photo by A.W.F. Banfield shows hundreds of caribou making their spring trek over still-frozen waterways toward the Arctic tundra. Wolf packs follow the herd, and at least one wolf can be seen charging toward a cluster of about forty animals "straining to outdistance the wolf."

Janet Caruthers' article "Land of the Ojibway" offers impressions of the Indigenous people of the Lake of the Woods area on the Manitoba-Ontario border. She writes of "tiny villages tucked in sheltering bays and on wooded points" and notes a chief who in 1873 said, "we have a rich country" that "belongs to us."

— *Phil Koch*

Top: A.W.F. Banfield's aerial photo shows hundreds of caribou on their spring trek as a wolf, lower left, charges towards a cluster of animals. Middle: Carver Mungo Martin (standing centre) prepares to speak at the opening of a reconstructed Kwakiutl village at the University of British Columbia. Above: Portuguese barquentine the *Gazela* fished the banks off Newfoundland.

The Canada's History Archive featuring *The Beaver* was made possible with the generous support of the Hudson's Bay Company History Foundation. Visit **CanadasHistory.ca/Archive** to read ninety-plus years of stories.

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GENUINE CANADIAN MAGAZINE

Magazines Canada

Participants from across Canada in the 2017 Canada's History Youth Forum pose in the Grand Hall at the Canadian Museum of History, October 31, 2017.

Forward-thinking history

Young Citizens reflect on the past, look to the future during trip to Ottawa.

Canada's History welcomed twenty-six exceptional young Canadians to Ottawa last October for our annual youth forum. The forum is the culmination of the Heritage Fair and Young Citizens programs that annually reach more than fifty thousand students.

"It was exciting to see how this group of young people really came together," said Alison Nagy, one of the dedicated Canada's History staff who helped to make this project possible. "The students are always so inspiring and really give all of us a tremendous hope for the future."

The students participated in a number of activities, including visits to the Bytown Museum, Parliament Hill, the Canadian War Museum, the Canadian Museum of History, and Rideau Hall.

At the Bytown Museum, the students worked with Cloud in the Sky Studios, an Ottawa-based creative production studio, to create a new video that explores why history is important to them and to Canada's future. (Visit CanadasHistory.ca/YoungCitizens to see the final video.)

At the Canadian Museum of History, the students toured the new Canadian History Hall and, as a group, shared different perspectives on Canada's history. "The students bring with them a tremendous amount of knowledge about Canada's past," said facilitator and researcher Cynthia Wallace-Casey. "They are always eager to share their understandings and make connections to big ideas in history."

A highlight of the trip was trick-or-treating at Rideau Hall and in the surrounding neighbourhood on October 31. Many of the students sported historic costumes they developed for their projects.

Anne Mobach's daughter Madison travelled from Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, to Ottawa as part of the group. "This trip opened up a whole new world for her, and it's exciting to see," Anne said in an email sent shortly after her daughter's trip. "She has made lifelong friends, and they have been texting nonstop since they got back on a Wi-Fi signal!"

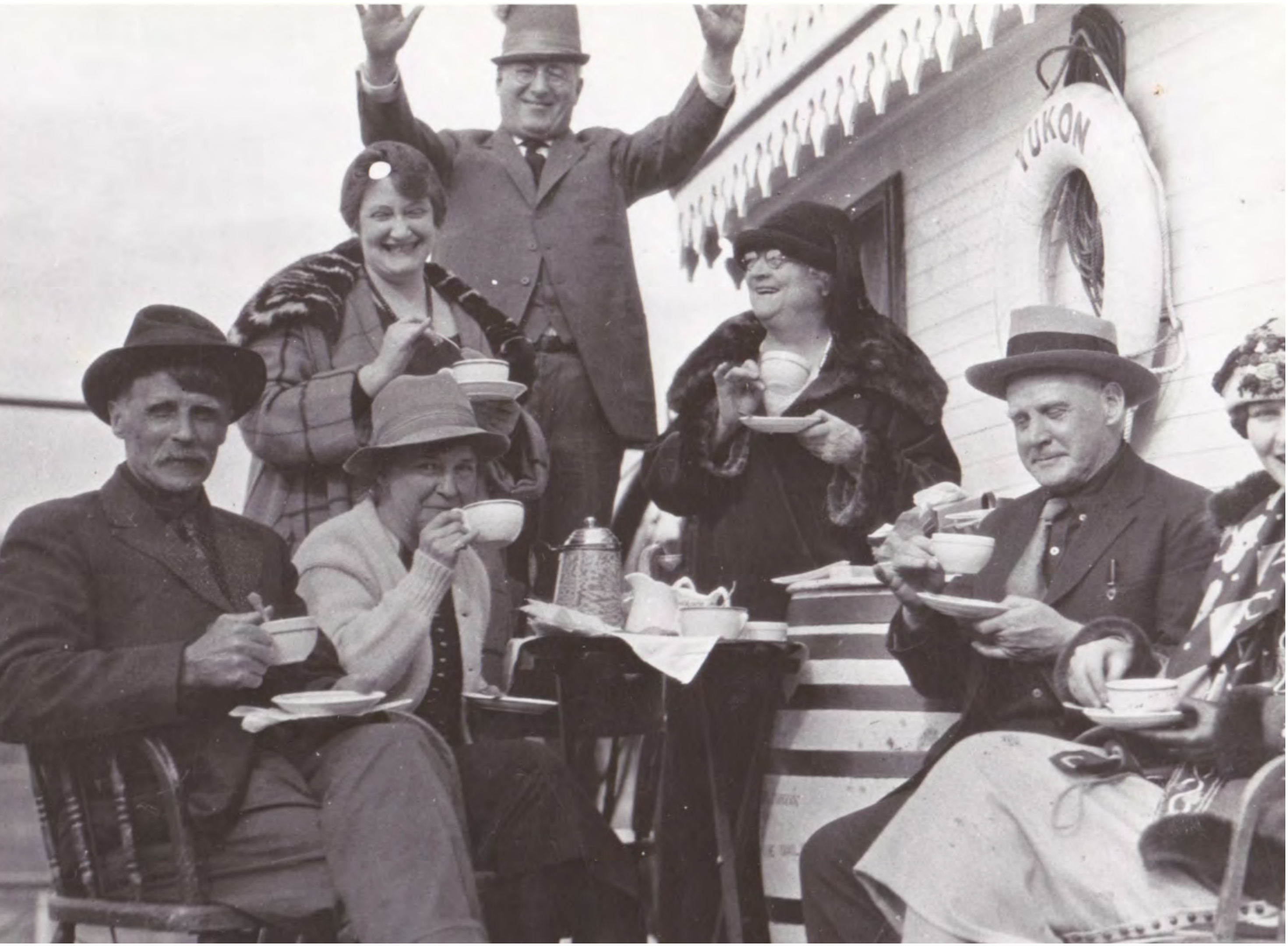
Young Citizens and the national youth forum was made possible thanks to the generous support of the Government of Canada, the Federal, Provincial, Territorial Working Group on Culture and Heritage, and Great-West Life, London Life, and Canada Life. Canada's History Society would also like to acknowledge First Air, which generously helped our Nunavut participants travel from Pond Inlet to Ottawa.

To watch all the students' videos and to learn more about the Young Citizens program, visit YoungCitizens.ca.

PHOTOS BY BRITTANY GAWLEY

Clockwise from top: Young Citizens Alexandra Dech (North Bay, Ontario), Siobhan Aglak (Pond Inlet, Nunavut), Klaire Hayward (Bonavista, Newfoundland and Labrador), and Avah Solomon (Ottawa) reflect on Canadian history; Young Citizen Esmé Gandham (Vancouver), poses with award-winning teachers Jean-Pierre Lagueux and Christian Lagueux, dressed in period garb, and Canada's History President and CEO Janet Walker, after receiving her Young Citizens award; Young Citizens create a collage to reflect what they want to remember about Canadian history; Young Citizens share what they learned in the Canadian History Hall; Isla Stanford (Lethbridge, Alberta) watches videos made by her fellow Young Citizens.

Our Story @ Canada



Shipboard revelry

When we found this photo in 2000 in our great-uncle Frank Foster's collection in the Yukon Archives, we wondered what was going on. Frank left Yorkshire, England, and went north for the Klondike gold rush, staying to prospect, trap, and make a life. He died in Old Crow, Yukon, in 1950.

Frank was an avid photographer. Most of his photos were of his Gwich'in family and friends out on the land, but this one was a mystery. Who were these people, and what were they celebrating?

We recently found an issue of the *Whitehorse Star*, dated June 26, 1925, that had been kept by a family member. It contains the following notice: "Married: Foster-Mason — On the steamer *Casca* enroute to Whitehorse June 22nd, A.R. Foster, of San Francisco and Bradford, Yorkshire, to W. Mason, of Fort Yukon, Alaska, Dr. A.E. Hubbard of Buffalo, NY, officiating."

What could this mean? A.R. Foster was not Frank (who had clearly been the photographer), and the man on the left has to be great-uncle Arnie. But Arnie had never married.

An answer came from an elderly relative in England, who remembered being told as a child that the marriage announcement was a hoax! Arnie and W. Mason (also a man) decided to go through a fake shipboard marriage and got the captain to marry them. Anyone who would have known more about the occasion is now long dead.

Submitted by cousins Hamar Foster of Victoria and Robert Foster of Courtenay, British Columbia.

Do you have a photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in Canada's history? If so, have it copied (please don't send priceless originals) and mail it to Album, c/o Canada's History, Bryce Hall, Main Floor, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, MB R3B 2E9. Or email your photo to album@CanadasHistory.ca. Please provide a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. Photos may be cropped or adjusted as necessary for presentation in the magazine. To have your posted submission returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

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Samonie Toonoo, *Hip-Hop Dancer*, Cape Dorset, 2007. Image: Toni Hafkenscheid.
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